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SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT WORLD CRISIS *

IN normal times the President of this Association would be expected to choose, and would usually prefer to choose, a topic for his address from his field of specialization. In normal times, accordingly, I would be speaking today on some phase of the history of the Later Roman Empire or of the early Middle Ages. But in the midst of a global war threatening the very existence of all that is best in our civilization, historians as a group, whatever may be their respective specialities, can not help being preoccupied, and rightly, with contemporary events so momentous in character. Today, therefore, I have decided to deal with three selected aspects of the present crisis which seem to me to be extraordinarily important. My purpose is primarily to call attention to or provoke more serious thought upon certain facts and ideas.

The End of American Isolation

To speak of the end of American isolation would seem to belabor the obvious, were it not for the fact that there are still far too many, even in responsible places, throughout our country who refuse to face reality, and in their attitude remind one of the frightened ostrich. It took the Great Depression following 1929 to make most of us realize that the frontier had long disappeared from American history, and that each region of the country, with the aid of the Federal Government, had to solve its own problems by some other method than physical escape. And so it has been in the case

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of isolation. It took the present acute rubber shortage to explode the myth of our national self-sufficiency in the economic sphere, although we have been importing not only rubber but an ever increasing number of other essential commodities during the past forty years. What is true of our own economic dependency on other countries is, of course, true to a much greater degree in the case of other nations of the world.

Isolation as a cherished national policy throughout our earlier history combined with a national pride in our economic self-sufficiency is undoubtedly responsible for our failure to realize that the United States has been a World Power since 1898, and that as a nation, because of our great political and economic power and influence, we have been forced to participate more and more actively in international affairs. In spite of some voices to the contrary, I am convinced that we had no choice as a nation but to engage in World War I. On the other hand, I consider it one of the great tragedies of World History that after the war we failed to perceive that we were not isolated, and could not isolate ourselves, from the grave political and economic world problems occasioned by the conflict. By not adopting a more aggressive attitude in the interests of justice at the peace table and by our repudiation of the League of Nations we helped to lay the foundations for a new and more terrible struggle.

An isolationism which was almost psychopathic in character all but defeated our effective preparation for the successful prosecution of the present war, a war in which not only our political and economic independence as a nation, but also the sacred civil and religious rights of individual citizens are at stake, a war in which the issues of right and wrong are more clearly discernible than in almost any conflict recorded in history. Given the essential relations between the political and economic factors in the national and international spheres of life and action at the present time, it is folly even to imagine that we could long maintain the independence and institutions of this hemisphere, if we should permit the Nazi masters of Germany to enslave Europe, Western Asia, and Africa, and the war lords of Japan to enslave the Far East, embracing within its confines half the total population of the earth. While the war is

in progress, isolationist voices are low or rare, but they will be loud and numerous again, once active hostilities cease. We have a hard fight ahead, much harder than most yet realize, but we know now that we can achieve decisive victory in the end. The United States will be largely responsible for the final victory, and will therefore be in a unique position militarily and morally to take the leading role in establishing a just peace and in reconstructing the post-war world in accordance with the principles of such a peace. It is our moral duty as historians to do all in our power to prevent isolationism from again ruining our efforts to establish a new and better world order and from leaving the way open for world anarchy.

The New Political Role of the Far East

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the subsequent Japanese conquests of the Philippines, Burma, Malaya, and the East Indies will, in my opinion, mark more clearly the beginning of a new period in Modern History than the sudden rise of Nazi power and the Nazi conquest of the countries of Western Europe, especially France. We moderns are not accustomed as yet to the idea of Asia playing a prominent political and military role in relation to Western nations. The decline of the military power of Islam began in Europe and the Near East after the failure of the Turks to take Vienna in 1683, and by the early nineteenth century Turkey, the strongest of modern Islamic states, was already a second class power. In the Far East, Europeans found highly civilized nations with long histories, but they soon came to regard them as inferior to themselves in material and intellectual progress. Motivated by the same imperialistic spirit, the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and French fought in bitter rivalry to win control over as many of the fabulously rich regions of the Far East as they could. Thus India, Malaya, and the great East Indies islands passed under the complete control of Great Britain, Holland, and France. And China was repeatedly forced to make many humiliating concessions to various Western powers, and to a new imperialistic Asiatic power—Japan.

During a period in which popular belief in the backwardness and inferiority of Oriental civilization was practically universal, the

story of the phenomenal growth of Japan into a modern power on the Occidental model had almost a romantic flavor. Western nations looked upon their little imitator as unique among Orientals and were long proud of their pupil. The Russo-Japanese War confirmed our good opinion, but the aggressive foreign policy adopted by Japan soon after that war aroused our first serious misgivings. The Japanese operations in the First World War, however, were rather limited, and, in our ignorance of the excellent fighting qualities of the Chinese soldier when properly trained and armed, we were inclined during the last decade, and even as late as the months before Pearl Harbor, to underrate the efficiency of the Japanese army and navy. The English certainly shared our attitude of superiority, and to a somewhat less degree, the Dutch.

The Japanese struck treacherously at Pearl Harbor, but this attack and their campaigns in the Philippines, Malaya and the East Indies were conducted with amazing efficiency and success. They showed to all Asia that they could inflict terrible defeats on the United States and Britain, the two Western nations enjoying the greatest prestige in the East. The effects of Pearl Harbor, but above all of the fall of Hongkong and Singapore, and their studied exploitation by the Japanese throughout Asia, have already had tremendous influence. Even in China, although the Chinese and Japanese have been engaged for five years in a war of unparalleled ferocity, there is a growing feeling that the Oriental soldier can meet the best which the Western nations can send against him. To use the conventional Oriental expression, the Westerner has lost face in the Far East and he will never regain it in the old imperialistic sense.

We shall eventually win a decisive victory over Japan, and we shall free the Far East and ourselves from the menace of a colossal program of ruthless political and economic enslavement of the richest and most populous regions of the world. But the new consciousness of independence based on equality, which is acting like a powerful leaven in China especially, will no longer accept the old order of Western superiority and exploitation, however modified. China is not fighting a war of existence to restore concessions to Western powers, and India, Malaya, and the East Indies will insist upon a new political and economic status. The tragic but

glorious vindication of our own policy in the Philippines points the way in my opinion to a new and better future for the peoples of Asia still subject to foreign domination.

Japan will continue to be a strong power even after her defeat, while China seems inevitably destined in the course of the second half of this century to become one of the greatest and strongest nations in the world. She has all the potentialities for becoming a great unified continental power like ourselves. The development of India and other regions of Southeastern Asia in the direction of independent life and action is unquestionably in process, however slow may be the tempo of change and however great may be the obstacles to unification.

We stand, therefore, at the beginning of a new epoch in World History. Western nations, both individually and collectively, must begin to recognize, as they have not been forced to recognize since the Sassanids and the medieval Caliphates, that they have to reckon with the East again, not as a vast region for conquest and exploitation, but as the domain of great independent states destined to equal or even surpass them in power through the development and utilization of inexhaustible natural resources. In post-war relations with the Far East, Western nations have two choices before them. On the one hand, under the pressure of vested interests—and such European interests are enormous—they may try to maintain in some form the old order of political control and economic exploitation. The cost will be increasing bitterness towards the West in all its aspects, and an eventual violent repudiation. On the other hand, after the destruction of the military power of Japan, there will be a unique opportunity to invite the peoples of the Far East to enter with us into a world association of nations based on justice and equality. The foundations could thus be laid not only for permanent peaceful and friendly relations between the Far East and the West in the political and economic spheres, but also for a more sympathetic mutual understanding in characteristic phases of social and cultural life. The treaty between the United States and China signed within the week indicates clearly, I am glad to say, the choice which we intend to make. I hope that we shall continue to persevere with courage in the policy which this treaty has so nobly initiated

The Internal Crisis and the Pope's Christmas Allocution

The world crisis in which we are now involved has been developing since the beginning of modern times, but the tempo of development has been constantly accelerating since the early nineteenth century. The crisis in the sphere of international relations, so bitterly clear to all of us now in the midst of a second and more terrible world war within less than a generation, is, in the last analysis however, to be traced to the internal disorder and injustice which blight or destroy a sound and harmonious internal life in the nations themselves and necessarily determine the character of their relations to one another. Some of our leaders, including the President himself with his admirable insistence in his recent message to Congress on immediate economic security legislation even at the height of the war effort, for example, show that they have a proper appreciation of the internal crisis among the nations, and their plans for post-war reconstruction embody provisions for remedying this crisis so far as possible. But in general there is a growing tendency everywhere to concentrate on the war effort alone and to postpone discussion of internal problems until the conflict is over. Nothing, therefore, could be more timely than the recent Christmas allocution of our Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, addressed to all nations and devoted exclusively to the fundamental principles governing the internal order of states and peoples. As presented and discussed in the public press, the allocution was disappointing to many non-Catholics, who were hoping that the Pope would condemn Naziism and Fascism by name. When examined in its entirety, however, it proves to be one of the most important papal pronouncements in recent years. Most of you, I am sure, have read the document, but it deserves repeated analysis and the widest publicity possible.

The Pope begins the formal treatment of his theme with a general statement of the connection between international relations and internal order:

> International relations and internal order are intimately related. International equilibrium and harmony depend on the internal equilibrium and development of the individual states in the material, social, and intellectual spheres. A firm and steady peace policy towards other

> nations is, in fact, impossible without a spirit of peace within the nation which inspires trust. It is only, then, by striving for an integral peace, a peace in both fields, that people will be freed from the cruel nightmare of war, and the material and psychological causes of further discord and disorder will be diminished and gradually eliminated.

In the first half of his allocution he then takes up the two elements regulating social life, living together in order, the place of God in individual and social life, the development and perfection of the human person, juridical order of society and its aims, living together in tranquility, and the world of labor. It is very significant that he gives most attention to the human person and his rights, and to the function and character of law in relation to the individual and to society. Totalitarian and positivistic conceptions of human personality, society, and law are condemned in vigorous terms:

> The juridical order has, besides, the high and difficult scope of insuring harmonious relations both between individuals and between societies, and within these. This scope will be reached if legislators will abstain from following those perilous theories and practices, so harmful to communities and to their spirit of union, which derive their origin and promulgation from false postulates.
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> Among such postulates we must count the juridical positivism which attributes a deceptive majesty to the setting up of purely human laws, and which leaves the way open for a fatal divorce of law from morality; there is besides, the conception which claims for particular nations or races, or classes, the juridical instinct as the final imperative and norm from which there is no appeal; finally, there are those various theories which, differing among themselves, and deriving from opposite ideologies, agree in considering the state, or a group which represents it, as an absolute and supreme entity, exempt from control and criticism even when its theoretical and practical postulates result in, and offend by, their open denial of essential tenets of the human and Christian conscience.

Using the first half of his allocution as an explanatory background, he devotes the second half chiefly to the enunciation and discussion of a five-point program for bringing order and peace to human society. The points are: 1. Dignity and rights of the human person, 2. Defense of social unity and especially of the family in principle, 3. Dignity and prerogatives of labor, 4. Re-

habilitation of juridic order, 5. The conception of the state according to the Christian spirit.

Throughout his discussion of the five points, as in the treatment of the same matters in the first half of his allocation, the Pope is constantly preoccupied with the fundamental rights of the individual person and the family and with the means of securing the full and proper exercise of these rights. Thus in his treatment of the rehabilitation of the juridic order, he says:

> The juridic sense of today is often altered and overturned by the profession and the practice of a positivism and a utilitarianism which are subjected and bound to the service of determined groups, classes, and movements, whose programs direct and determine the course of legislation and the practices of the courts.
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> From the juridic order, as willed by God, flows man's inalienable right to juridical security, and by this very fact to a definite sphere of rights, immune from all arbitrary attack.
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> The relations of man to man, of individual to society, to authority, to civil duties; the relations of society and of authority to the individual, should be placed on a firm juridic footing and be guarded, when the need arises, by the authority of the courts.
>
> This supposes . . . the recognition of the principle that even the State and the functionaries and organizations dependent on it are obliged to repair and to withdraw measures which are harmful to the liberty, property, honor, and health of the individuals.

In connection with his discussion of the dignity and prerogatives of labor he makes the following highly significant observations on international co-operation as a necessary means of promoting the internal economic welfare of nations:

> The progress and the extent of urgent social reforms depend on the economic possibilities of single nations. It is only through an intelligent and generous sharing of forces between the strong and the weak that it will be possible to effect a universal pacification in such wise as not to leave behind the centers of conflagration and infection from which new disasters may come. . . .
>
> Is it not true that deep thinkers see ever more clearly in the renunciation of egoism and national isolation, the way to general salvation, ready as they are to demand of their peoples a heavy participation in the sacrifices necessary for social well-being in other peoples?

Following in the great tradition of his predecessors beginning with Leo XIII, Pope Pius XII, then, has again pointed out in clear and vigorous language the mortal ills of modern political, social, and economic life, and he has outlined a definite program of sound reform. At a time when totalitarian thought and action dominate some of the leading nations of the world, and when many important rights of individuals even in countries not infected with totalitarianism are curtailed or abrogated under the emergency of war, the Pope has emphasized the dignity of the individual human person, and has repeatedly stressed the fundamental individual rights which are and must remain inalienable. The allocution deserves careful study by Americans as well as by other peoples, for those sacred inalienable individual rights which are guaranteed under our Constitution and which we like to regard as secure forever are now being threatened, not so much by the temporary exigencies of war, as by a spreading materialistic conception of the individual and society and of the democratic way of life. In accordance with this conception all rights and all morality are purely relative and determined by the will and needs of an ever-changing society. A democracy motivated and guided by a materialistic philosophy of society will, in the end, have no regard for those individual rights which we consider inalienable and will not differ appreciably, in its effects at least, from totalitarianism.

My address today, as I fully realize, has been somewhat informal and disjointed, and perhaps it has done violence to the solemn tradition of presidential speeches. If in this hour of world crisis, however, I have provoked new or further thought on any of the major points which I have discussed, I shall feel that my remarks have served a very useful purpose.

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IDEAS ON THE CHURCH-STATE PROBLEM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY LATIN AMERICA [1]

IN the space at my disposal I can only hope to suggest the main outlines and some of the difficulties of a subject of major historical importance, which should attract the attention of students in both the fields of Latin American history and of Church history.[2] It has in the greater number of instances been discussed with "more heat than light" by partisans of particular views, rather than by trained historians, dedicated to objective presentation. The problem has reached its most acute stage in Mexico, but the writer prefers to leave that question to his colleague and fellow-student, Father Shiels.[3] We are both products of the Bolton School of American historians and should therefore, I believe, reach general conclusions which are harmonious with the "good neighbor" policy and which at the same time set forth the truths, without bias, with respect to the ascertainable facts and the interpretation which should be given them.

The roots of the Church-State problem of nineteenth-, not to mention twentieth-, century Latin America lie buried deep in three hundred years of colonial control from Spain and Portugal, and, more accurately, find their origin in the peculiar status these monarchies, especially that of Spain, obtained in the *patronato real* and the *pase regio*, where Church appointments and publications were concerned, both in the homeland and overseas in America.[4]

[1] Paper read at the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Chicago, December 31, 1941.

[2] This *Review* in the past two years has printed numerous articles calling attention to the problem in various Latin American countries.

[3] Cf., W. Eugene Shiels, "Church and State in the First Decade of Mexican Independence," in the *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII (1942), 206-228.

[4] The literature of the subject is voluminous, and, in all its ramifications, beyond the reach of any but the specialist. The best general introduction in English, or any other language, is the scholarly work of J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, 1934). One may differ with

The Hispanic peninsula, made up of various kingdoms, races, and religions, had just achieved unity under one ruling king and queen, with the exception of Portugal, when America was discovered. As one writer puts it:

> What would have become of this disparate State, burdened with a foreign body which might turn hostile, if it had been, like the rest of Christendom in the sixteenth century, exposed to the spirit of controversy, to the zeal for proselytism and the passions of religious parties, ever ready to resort to arms? But it seemed hermetically sealed against the propagation of the new doctrines. The religion which, for eight centuries, had inspired its struggle against the Mussulmen was so closely united in its patriotism that it formed part of the national consciousness.[5]

In the final period of the reconquest the Spanish monarchy obtained peculiar privileges in its relation to the Church in the establishment of the *patronato real* and the *pase regio*. The Catholic monarchs, under the first, gained the right to nominate to all ecclesiastical posts and benefices in Granada and the Indies, and to a lesser degree elsewhere in Spain, and by the second "retained" or prevented the publication of papal bulls and briefs within their dominions regarded as inimical to the royal interest. The doctrine of "regalism," implicit in the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X of Castile, slowly gained ground, and acquired complete form and substance under Philip II. Indeed, under this king, no less a person than

the author on matters of interpretation, shades of meaning, and reliance on specific authorities, such as Charles A. Washburn's, *A History of Paraguay*, the bias of which is notorious, yet, nevertheless, no one today can embark on a study of the problem without reference to his sincere and objective presentation. Other accounts of general value are Lucas Ayarragaray, *La Iglesia en América y la Dominación Española* (Buenos Aires, 1920), and P. Pedro Leturia, *La Acción Diplomática de Bolivar ante Pio VII, 1820-23* (Madrid, 1925). Specific countries have been subjected to numerous studies, and individuals, incidents, and epochs are the theme of books and articles to which Professor Mecham gives generous and discriminating guidance. The files of *Razón y Fe* and the extraordinary bibliography of Robert Streit and Johannes Dindinger, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, supplemented by the annual *Bibliografía Missionaria* of Fathers Rommerskirchen and Dindinger, are indispensable aids and guides to the student.

[5] Jean H. Mariéjol. *Philip II, The First Modern King*, Trans. by W. B. Wells (New York, 1933), p. 87.

Bartolomé Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, was imprisoned throughout a period of seventeen years on a purely religious charge, and his appeal to a superior authority, the Sovereign Pontiff, was regarded as an infringement of the royal prerogative and his rescue came tardily. In the words of a biographer of Philip II, "The Spanish episcopate, which had played such a great role at the Council of Trent, was more and more hemmed in under royal tutelage..."[6] To a considerable extent this involved a certain loss of independence and control of religious affairs by the Church to the temporal rulers.

When the struggle for independence dawned in Latin America, it represented more than a simple armed conflict to wrest political independence from the mother countries. In the case of Brazil the brevity of the war, the early amicable recognition of independence accorded by the homeland to the imperial government, headed by a member of the reigning house, facilitated the transition and obviated the numerous and vexatious problems of both Church and State which rose to plague the sister nations of Spanish origin. From the point of view of the papacy both religious and diplomatic questions were raised. The papacy as a temporal power was obliged to remain loyal to agreements of long standing, solemnly pacted with the Spanish government. If the difficulties confronting the United States, in extending recognition to Latin America, were great, since a premature recognition of the new governments constituted cause for war, how much greater and more delicate was the same problem when posed in Rome! Too few writers have separated the two problems—the religious administrative one of granting or not granting the new governments the former rights accorded Spain under the *patronato real* and the *pase regio* — and the intimately associated question of any extension of diplomatic recognition in the face of determined Spanish opposition. Professor Mecham's admirable article, "The Papacy and Spanish-American Independence,"[7] adequately portrays this situation, so it need not be elaborated here. In addition, the article brings out the important complicating factor of the lack of priests and bishops to man the

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[7] *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, IX (1929), 154-175.

New World churches, a situation produced by the long course of the wars of independence. This division of the Church in Spanish America from the fountain-head of authority for such an extended period meant that in many countries the ties were temporarily broken and that the Church in America, to its detriment, was forced to share in the general chaos and confusion of the ensuing period of military anarchy. Moreover, the Church, thus cut off and without proper leadership, was in the circumstances, an easy target for the acquisitive attacks of ambitious *caudillos* and lesser politicians who needed or merely wanted money. The Church in the colonial period had supported education, charities, hospitals, and other institutions for the care of the sick and the unfortunate. The subsequent despoiling of the educational and charitable foundations of Latin America is a dark picture, especially as there is no clear evidence that either the people or their governments derived any profit whatsoever from the transaction. The institutions disappeared with their supporting funds and no comparable public services appeared for many years as replacement. The case here against the *caudillos* is conclusive.

The papacy in extending recognition to the new nations had to treat a score of new international entities, and the solutions reached, with respect to the type of relations between the Church and the states, varied from a modified form of established church under *patronato nacional* to complete separation. Thought and opinion among the leading laymen of Latin America about the problem was equally diverse. It can perhaps be best set forth by a more detailed examination of the views of a selected group who, for the purposes of this study, are regarded as representative. There is, of course, an embarrassment of riches, and a much larger group could be included or another complete selection made. Nevertheless this selection seems to adequately reflect the general trend of thought on the subject in all its variety.

In the period of the wars of independence the great leaders, Miranda, Bolívar, and San Martín were unanimous in their view that the Church should be a bulwark in the newly created republics. Bolívar was perhaps unique in advocating a separation of Church and State, although he did not want it to be absolute. Miranda,

the great precursor, is depicted by his biographer, Professor William S. Robertson, as praising the religious situation in New Jersey in his famous *Diary* of his tour through the United States, writing: "Each person praises God in the language and manner dictated by his own conscience. There is no dominant religion or sect—all are good and equal."[8] Yet he "derided peculiar religious practices and was unfavorably impressed by the emergence of Unitarian beliefs in Boston." Robertson further states: "It would seem that his American travels induced Miranda to believe in religious toleration, while they did not necessarily destroy his faith in Catholic doctrines. Most significant of all perhaps is the fact that his journal reveals him as opposed to any sectarian influence in politics."[9] Real insight into his ideas is accorded by Miranda's statement of 1808: "The Jesuits have done more good to South America than any other set of Men or Religious Order that ever went to that Continent. The civilized portion of the community received *gratis* the best system of education and literature they ever had—and the savage Indians the most rational Christian Civil and Moral institutions that were ever applied since the conquest, for their benefit and happiness." As to his personal faith, "Perhaps the fairest judgment ... would be that he tended to drift from Roman Catholicism to Deism. Yet it seems possible that in his last mournful years he found consolation in the doctrines of the Church of St. Peter."[10]

Simon Bolívar, the great liberator of the north, passed from early ideas of laissez faire with respect to Church relations, through various stages in the development of his ideas to a view that was pro-Church, in that he saw it as a necessary support for stable government. Examples of his mature thought on the subject are his statement in a letter from Popayán, November 22, 1829: "No doubt the Council will proceed with great caution and firmness in all the negotiations which relate to our bishops and His Holiness.

[8] Francisco de Miranda, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda*, Ed. by W. S. Robertson (New York, 1928), p. 50.

[9] W. S. Robertson, *The Life of Miranda*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1929), II, 232 with references.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

Religion ought to enjoy absolute protection by the government but this does not mean that they [of the Council] should not prevent the ills that Spanish intrigue could work on us through this instrumentality." [11] Again, in his last speech to the Constituent Congress of Bogotá, January, 1830, he declared: "Permit me that as my last act I recommend that you protect the holy religion which we profess; the profuse fountain of the benedictions of Heaven." [12] There can be little doubt that Bolívar, disillusioned by experience, turned from free thought to Catholicism in his last days.[13] Indeed, his influence was sufficient to cause the congress of Bogotá in 1830 to declare Roman Catholicism to be the recognized religion and to insert a clause espousing *patronato nacional* for the Church within Colombia.

It is more difficult to penetrate the thought of San Martín on the issue. He was a faithful and convinced member of the Catholic faith, but in action was a pronounced adherent of the regalist school and would tolerate no opposition to the movement for independence. His thought in regard to Church-State relations is definitely entwined with his staunchly monarchist ideas, after the pattern of England, as the ideal government for the new nations.[14] In practice, as Mecham points out,[15] he permitted a Scottish Baptist minister, James Thomson, to act as director of public instruction under him in Peru and went so far as to confer citizenship on him. Perhaps the best clue to his long-term convictions on the subject is the provision he inserted in the *Estatuto Provisional* for the rule of

[11] Vincente Lecuna, Ed., *Cartas del Libertador*, 10 vols. (Caracas, 1930), IX, 193.

[12] Mecham, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-121, summarizes the last years and presents an account of the criticism of Bolívar's change.

[13] In a letter to José A. Páez from Bogotá, August 23, 1828, he urged measures to raise revenue and to support the Church "Como Una de las Más fuertes barreras que puede oponerse al torriente de las pasiones anárquicas." *Ibid.*, VIII, 30.

[14] On this point, see José Pacífico Otero, *Historia del Libertador don José de San Martín*, 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1932), III, cap. XVIII, and cap. XXIII, and Bartolomé Mitre, *Historia de San Martín y de la emancipación Sudamericana*, 5 vols., 3rd ed. (Buenos Aires, N. D., Biblioteca de "La Nación"), IV, 197-199.

[15] Mecham, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

Peru while he was its Protector. In it he recognized the Church as established and that it was the duty of the State to protect it. Other Christians, if they obtained special permission and their conduct was exemplary, might exercise their right to worship, but public office was withheld from all who did not profess the state religion.[16]

Following the successful establishment of the independent countries of Latin America, time, and political expediency, brought out divergent opinions as to the role of the Church in the various nations, which found vehement partisans and caused disputes as the century progressed. One encounters lay views in the relationship of the spiritual and temporal organisms as varied as the solutions which were ultimately reached. One certain generalization emerges from the study; namely, that wherever there was a free church, protected in its legitimate sphere of activity, located in a free state, there was general satisfaction and real progress.

The lay leaders of Latin America in the nineteenth century were, in the great majority of cases, favorable to the Church. The struggle between the two, when it occurred, was usually a political conflict and not religious in character. Extremists like Dr. Francia and the two López in Paraguay sought to invade the field of religion and to make the Church subservient to the State. At the other extreme, García Moreno,[17] in Ecuador, one of the most enlightened and admirable of the *caudillos*, tried to intermingle the Church and State, in what was tantamount to an idealized, utopian scheme of theocratic rule. Safe, middle-of-the-road procedures, espoused by intelligent and honest lay thinkers recognized the realities of the situation and recommended remedies which secured each function in its sphere and gave it complete freedom of action there. Harmonious results, however, it should be pointed out, with State patronage were obtained in progressive little Costa Rica and in Peru.

Examples of moderate thought in Latin America, as applied to the Church-State problem, are afforded by Juan Bautista Alberdi,

[16] *Ibid.*, 194.

[17] For a recent treatment see Richard Pattee, *Gabriel García Moreno y el Ecuador de su tiempo* (Quito, 1941).

the great Argentine political thinker, in his famous "Bases and Suggestions for the Political Organization of the Argentine Republic," by Pedro II of Brazil, and Arturo Alessandri, who operated into the next century, but who succeeded in bringing about an amicable and successful conclusion to the long struggle in Chile by an agreement for Church-State separation. Others might be mentioned but these few are representative. Alberdi secured the adoption of constitutional provisions which made Catholicism "the dominant religion of the country," gave the State the right of patronage and the *pase*, but safeguarded this by requiring that all presidents must be Roman Catholic in faith. By thus avoiding a radical break with older practice, Argentina has, on the whole, enjoyed freedom from the unseemly quarrels which have harassed other Hispanic American nations. In Brazil, the Empire took over the union of Church and State with State support in finance from the colonial era. The Masonic flare-up of 1872 in Brazil, which came late in the reign of Pedro II, forced an open breach between the Emperor and certain of the bishops, in which the papacy espoused the imperial cause.[18] This led to a desire for political separation from the clerical side, which was realized under the republic in 1890. Pedro II's too literal interpretation of the rights of the Crown in Church-State relations unwittingly contributed to the downfall of his own regime and to the triumph of the free Church principle.[19] Alessandri became the great conciliator in his constitution of 1925, where Church and State were separated, and the long, unfruitful

[18] For the origins of Masonry in Brazil see Roland D. Hussey, "Traces of French Enlightenment in Colonial Hispanic America", in *Latin America and the Enlightenment*, edited by Arthur P. Whitaker (New York, 1942), pp. 44, 45, with references.

[19] The Emperor was well within his rights as proved by papal support, but his action was unwise and his blame in the matter is set forth clearly by Heitor Lyra in his *Historia de Don Pedro II*, 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1939), II, 343, where he states: "O principal responsavel pelos erros do Ministerio foi, sèm duvida, o Imperador. Como dirá Joaquim Nabuco, una atitude em toda essa questão foi *decisera*. Era sabido quanto êle se mostrava ás vezes tolerante, mesmo em suas opiniões mas enraizadas, e como transigia com os Ministros a ponte de ceder em assumtos sobre os quais tinha idéias solidamente assentadas. Mas nessa questão dos Bispos se mostraria de una teimosia inabalavel. Só cedeu á ultima hora, e aindu assim bem a contra gôsto, quando o gabinete Caxias lhe impaz, podese dezer, a anistia dos Bispos."

dissension initiated by Santa María and Balmaceda in the eighties was brought to a satisfactory and, we hope, lasting conclusion. In a spirit quite markedly different from any veritable persecution which obtained in other nations, Chile, by the reasonable method followed, set the Church free from State interference without violence.

The views and especially the acts of such laymen reflect on the whole no religious dispute, but rather, a delayed settlement of an inherited political problem, complicated by the stormy vicissitudes of political life in Latin America in the nineteenth century. The process of adjustment was by no means concluded at the turn of the century. Indeed, it should be stressed that a transitional movement from colonial status to one of complete nationalism is still disturbing some of our neighbor nations, notably Mexico. As in all political realignments, a spirit of compromise has been necessary but not always present. Neither side has been universally happy in its choice of agents or in the timing of its moves on the legislative and diplomatic fronts. There has been genuine unabashed religious persecution and there has also been, on occasion, what appeared to be an alliance between the Church and the forces of reaction. The problem is, nevertheless, so intermingled with the accidental factors of local political faction, national politics, and the struggle to gain and hold office, that generalization is dangerous, and only complete reference to locale and time give validity to any statement vis-à-vis any country, not to mention, what, for convenience, we call Latin America. We are still too close to the events of what is a continuing stream of historical phenomena to render final judgment. It is to be assumed that both sides desire justice. Study of the problem in all its ramifications, in order to apprehend its reality and the necessary remedies to be applied, should hasten the day of peaceful settlement in areas that are historically Catholic.

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UNPUBLISHED AMERICAN DOCUMENTS ON THE ROMAN REPUBLIC OF 1849

THE long series of mob riots everywhere in the Papal States culminating in the assassination of Pellegrino Rossi,[1] the papal minister, on November 15, 1848, obliged Pius IX, nine days later, to flee to Gaeta and seek shelter under the protection of Ferdinand II, the King of the Two Sicilies.[2] It soon became evident that papal authority could be restored only by the use of force. Even while the Pope was still in Rome, the political situation had become so turbulent that a certain Berard of whom we know only that he was a French physician who had long been a resident of Rome, a courageous man devoted to the cause of the Pope, had discussed with Antonio Rosmini[3] a plan whereby he pledged himself to go to France to organize a corps of volunteers whom he promised to lead back to Rome to aid the Pope in the restoration of an orderly government. However, by the time Berard arrived in France, the Pope had already withdrawn to Gaeta. Nevertheless, Berard continued to work out the

[1] Born at Carrara, Tuscany, July 13, 1787. In 1843 Louis Philippe sent him to Rome as envoy extraordinary to the Court of Gregory XVI for the "amicable" dissolution of the Jesuit houses in France. On September 16, 1848, he was appointed minister of the interior and of the police in the cabinet of Cardinal Soglia, resolving firmly to uphold his own political views. Cf. Robert M. Johnston, *Roman theocracy and the Republic*, chapters 12, 13; R. Giovagnoli, *Pellegrino Rossi e la rivoluzione romana*, (Rome, 1898-1911), 3 vols.; E. Michel, "L'assassinio di Pellegrino Rossi," in *Nuova Antologia*, (Rome, May 16, 1914), 271-76; Leo Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches 1848-68*, (Washington, D. C., 1933), 54, 13n; H. R. Marraro, *American Public Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1848-61*, (New York, 1932).

[2] For an account of the advance of the Neapolitan troops under Ferdinand II, cf. Johnston, *op. cit.*, 290-92; C. F. Farini, *Lo stato romano dall'anno 1815 al 1850*, (Florence, 1853), 4 vols., IV, 85 ff.; Marraro, *op. cit.*, 61, 73, 75, 84, 86.

[3] In 1848 he was appointed Sardinian envoy to Pius IX. Cf. Antonio Rosmini-Serbati, "Della missione a Roma di Antonio Rosmini-Serbati negli anni 1848-49," in *Commentario*, (June, 1881), p. 418.

details of his plans, communicating them to Rosmini, who had followed His Holiness to Gaeta. When informed of the project, the Pope, after long discussions with Archbishop MacHale of Tuam, and John Hughes,[4] Bishop of New York, approved it, instructing his nuncio in Paris to seek information concerning the men who were to form the corps and the means at their disposal. Beyond furnishing the Pope with the names of the leaders of the corps, Rosmini said nothing more to His Holiness on the subject. The plan seems to have failed because Cardinal Antonelli,[5] the pro-secretary of state, thought that it had little chance of success. Furthermore, the Pope had by this time decided to seek the aid of a foreign power, from which alone he now felt that he could secure positive and effective assistance.

Meanwhile, preparations were made by the Roman Constituent Assembly to establish the Roman Republic. With keen foresight, Nathaniel Niles,[6] the American minister to Turin, in a despatch dated Turin, December 24, 1848, addressed to James Buchanan,[7] secretary of state, discussed the reasons why such efforts were doomed to failure, declaring:

> . . . All attempts to found a Republic in the Roman States or in any other part of Italy must fail. The Italian character is so thoroughly imbued with intolerance and sentiments of hatred per-

[4] On his return to the United States, Bishop Hughes delivered an address in St. Patrick's Cathedral, for which cf. Marraro, *op. cit.*, 93-98, 127. Cf. also: John R. S. Hassard, *Life of the Most Reverend J. Hughes, D.D. . . . First Archbishop of New York, with Extracts of his Private Correspondence,* (New York, 1866); Stock, *op. cit.*, 67n; Sister Loretta C. Feiertag, *American Public Opinion on the Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Papal States, 1847-1867,* (Washington, D. C., 1933), 52, 106-107, 115, 142.

[5] Giacomo Antonelli (1806-76). In March, 1848, he succeeded Cardinal Bofondi as minister of foreign affairs of the Papal States. Cf. Marraro, *op. cit.*, 268, 317; Stock, *op. cit.*, 1n.

[6] Nathaniel Niles (1791-1869). Chargé d'affaires at Turin from Jan. 4, 1848, to Aug. 20, 1850. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 524. Cf. H. Nelson Gay, "Le relazioni fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti (1847-71), in *Nuova Antologia,* (Rome, 1907), 657-71.

[7] James Buchanan (1791-1868), Secretary of State from 1844 to 1849. *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 207-14. See also: Stock, *op. cit.*, xxii, 4-15, 17-18; Feiertag, *op. cit.*, 15, 59; Marraro, *op. cit.*, 7-8, 24-25, 32-33.

> sonal and political toward everything that does not come up to the standard of unqualified approbation as to forbid the establishment of any form of government on mutual concessions and a partial surrender of rights and interests for the common good. This feature of the Italian character is the true secret of all the misfortunes of Italy. Moderation, the greatest of all political virtues, is always a defect, if not a crime, in the Italian mind. This is the only point of the peninsula where free government has the least chance of successful adoption for any considerable duration. . . .[8]

The Roman Republic was proclaimed on February 9, 1849. The Triumvirate[9] composed of Giuseppe Mazzini, Aurelio Saffi, and Carlo Armellini made strenuous efforts to secure the recognition of the Republic from responsible quarters, but without success. Discussing this phase of the question, Nathaniel Niles in his despatch from Turin, February 22, 1849, wrote to Buchanan as follows:

> . . . . It is by no means probable that this Roman Republic will be acknowledged by any regular government in Europe, and perhaps not even in America, when it is borne in mind that the Pope is himself on the very confines of his own territory officially contesting the right of the usurping Government to give laws to his subjects, a great majority of whom are alleged to be faithful to their allegiance, though quietly submissive for the time to a usurpation which they feel cannot last long. . . .[10]

The conduct of Nicholas Browne,[11] the American consul, who in the absence of Martin's successor was in charge of the American

[8] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Rome. The documents reproduced in this article, originally found in the archives of the American Embassy in Rome and in the American consulates in Italy, are still in Italy.

[9] The Constituent Assembly had a clear understanding of the imminent danger and tried to take measures against them by appointing a Triumvirate with "unlimited powers for the war of independence and the safety of the Republic," and called to the high office Carlo Armellini, who had been a member of the defunct executive power, Aurelio Saffi, former minister of the interior, and Giuseppe Mazzini who had on March 29 arrived in Rome. Cf. Stock, *op. cit.*, 45, Feiertag, *op. cit.*, 45.

[10] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Rome.

[11] Nicholas Browne. Consul in Rome, 1845-49. During the Republic, he sympathized openly with Mazzini and had trouble with the French troops. On account of his political views he was replaced by William Carroll Sanders on May 29, 1849. Cf. Leo Francis Stock, "American Consuls to the Papal States," in *Catholic Historical Review*, XV (1929-1930), 233-251. See also: H. R. Marraro, *op. cit.*, 70-71; Feiertag, *op. cit.*, 15, 52, 58, 60, 62; Stock, *op. cit.*, xxi, xxii, xxiv, 46-49.

Legation in Rome, served only to embarrass the position of the American government. In tendering to the new regime his "warmest congratulations," Mr. Browne gave assurances that his government would "take the earliest opportunity to recognize that of Rome in the most satisfactory manner." "So deeply rooted in every American heart," Browne wrote, "[is] the love of liberty, that the nation [the United States of America] will at once hail with joy the Independence of the Roman Republic long before their diplomatic agents can have time, in due official form, to give expression to the generous sentiments of their constituency." In his official uniform Browne joined in the procession of the Constituent Assembly.

However, in spite of Browne's urgency upon the State Department to extend recognition and his belief that "the papacy is fallen, morally, fallen forever," Lewis Cass, Jr.,[12] the newly appointed American minister, who arrived in Rome on April 2, 1849, was not convinced of the stability of the new order and withheld recognition by the United States, despite the fact that he was importuned by Mazzini and other officials to present his credentials and establish official diplomatic relations with the Republicans. Dinners, seats at the opera, and other civilities were offered to Mr. Cass, but the American minister declared he held no official communication with the existing government.[13] In a despatch dated Rome, April 21, Cass explained to Clayton,[14] the new Secretary of State, the reasons that induced him to withhold recognition:

> . . . The existing government, as they are well aware, is in such a precarious condition, that the effect of recognition by the United States would be to give it no inconsiderable strength. The friends of

[12] Lewis Cass, Jr. (1810-78). On Jan. 6, 1849, Buchanan transmitted a commission to Cass as chargé to succeed Martin. Cass presented his credentials to the cardinal secretary of state on Nov. 16, 1849. He remained in Italy to 1858 and died in Paris in 1878. Cf. Palmer, *Early Days in Detroit*, 383, 780; Marraro, *op. cit.*, 70, 71, 72, 78-79; H. Nelson Gay, *op. cit.*, 657-671; Stock, *op. cit.*, xxiv-xxv, 40, 17, 17n.

[13] Stock, *op. cit.*, xxiv.

[14] John Middleton Clayton (1796-1856). Secretary of State from 1849 to 1850. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 185-6. Cf. Stock, *op. cit.*, 38, 39-45, 56-7; Feiertag, *op. cit.*, 21n.

> the republic entertain the same view, apparently, for I have been solicited, to a degree amounting to importunity, by the President of the Assembly, by Mazzini, one of the triumvirate, and by other individuals connected with the Executive Department, to present my credentials, and establish diplomatic relations with the new republic. Dinners, seats at the opera, and similar civilities are offered to me in abundance. But I have uniformly declined them all, as they evidently proceed from an erroneous idea of my position . . . Without foreign pecuniary aid, the government will not be able, as I was yesterday informed by Charles Bonaparte, Prince of Canino,[15] an ardent supporter of the liberal cause, and a prominent member of the Assembly, to carry on its operations three months longer. . . .[16]

The political situation became rapidly so complicated and uncertain that the Secretary of State instructed Cass to use his discretion in presenting his letter of credence to the provisional government or to withhold it some time longer. In reply to his request for further instructions, Mr. Cass was informed that the only limitation imposed upon him was that any government to which he might present his credentials should possess "the necessary requisite of at least apparent stability."

Meanwhile the Pope, through his diplomatic representatives, on February 19, 1849, sent an official protest to foreign powers on the subject of confiscation of church property which had been one of the very first acts of the Roman Republic. In the absence of the American minister to Rome, a copy of the protest was sent on March 7, 1849, by the Apostolic Nuncio in Paris to Mr. Richard Rush,[17] minister of the United States, who immediately communicated it to the Secretary of State. The following is the official

[15] Carlo Luciano Bonaparte, Prince of Canino (1803-57). During the disturbances in Rome from 1848-49, he was a political democrat, taking an active part in favor of the revolutionists. Cf. Marraro, *op. cit.*, 51, 88; Feiertag, *op. cit.*, 47; Stock, *op. cit.*, xxiv, 30, 33.

[16] Stock, *op. cit.*, xxiv, 29, 30.

[17] Richard Rush (1780-1859). Minister of the United States to France 1847-51. Rush arrived in France in the closing days of the July monarchy, witnessing the February revolution. Buchanan's letter to Rush, March 31, 1848, contained an exposition of the policy of the United States respecting the recognition of foreign governments and interference in their domestic affairs. J. Buchanan, *Works*, (Philadelphia, 1909), VIII, 32-37. Cf. Marraro, *op. cit.*, 32, 69, 72; Stock, *op. cit.*, 3, 7, 8, 9.

correspondence on the question of the confiscation of church property.[18]

Paris, 7 Mars 1849.[19]

Monsieur le Ministre

J'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint une copie de la note que Son Em. Mgr. le Cardinal Antonelli, Pro-Sécretaire d'État a adressée par ordre exprès de Sa Sainteté aux Représentants des Puissances, sous la date du 19 Fevrier dernier, de Gaete au sujet de la confiscation des biens ecclésiastiques decretée par la soi-disante Constituante Romaine, C'est une protestation solennelle que a pour objet de prévenir specialment les étrangers de tout État ou Nation, que les contrats en vertu desquels ils deviendraient acquéreurs des biens si iniquement enlevée a l'Eglise sont d'avance frappés de nullité et ne pourront jamais être valides sous aucun prétexte.

Quoique les principes de haute moralité et de justice qui distinquent les sujets de la Conféderation des États Unis soient la plus sure garantie de leur debientesse [*sic*] et quoique il ne soit pas douteux qu'ils se refuseront à prêter un concours quelconque à ces spoliations sacrilèges, je dois par commandement exprès de Son Em. Mgr. le Cardinal Pro-Secrétaire d'État faire connaître la volonté manifestée du Souverain Pontife, et vous prier, Monsieur le Ministre, de vouloir bien donner communication a Votre Gouvernement afin que le contenue de la note ci-incluse ait la plus grande publicité, de telle sorte que les personnes que se laisseraient entrainer à des contrats pour les biens et proprietés ecclésiastiques dont il s'agit ne puissent pretexter cause d'ignorance.

[18] The confiscation of all ecclesiastical property was one of the very first acts of the Roman Republic on February 21; the next day all the deposits of money made by the religious corporations, or establishments presumed to be such, were swept into the republican treasury; it was decreed that all the church bells not necessary or not considered as works of art should be cast for canon (February 24); the jurisdiction of bishops over all universities and all schools, except diocesan seminaries, was abolished (February 25); bishops and clergymen were deprived of the right of administering or superintending the property of all sorts of beneficent institutions (March 12); religious corporations were declared incapable of acquiring or alienating property in any way whatever (March 16). Bernard O'Reilly, *A life of Pius IX down to the Episcopal Jubilee of 1877*, (New York, 1877), 285. Cf. also: Feiertag, *op. cit.*, 51.

[19] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Paris. Two copies, one in Latin and the other in Italian, of the documents mentioned are at the American embassy in Paris.

Veuillez agréer Monsieur le Ministre d'avance tous mes remerciements pour votre obligeant concours, ainsi que la nouvelle assurance de la haute considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être.

Monsieur le Ministre,
Votre très humble et très
obéissant serviteur,
R. Archevêque Nicée Nonce Apostolique.

A Monsieur
le Ministre des États-Unis d'Amérique
Paris.

No. 80

Legation of the United States,
Paris, March 12, 1849.[20]

The Secretary of State,
Sir:

I have received from the Archbishop of Nice, Ambassador (Apostolic Nuncio) of the Roman Pontiff in this capital, a note dated the 7th instant, enclosing to me a copy, for the information of my government, of the note which Cardinal Antonelli, temporary Secretary of State to the Pontifical Government, has addressed by order of His Holiness the Pope to the Representatives of Foreign Powers under date of the 19th of February from Gaeta, on the subject of the confiscation of church property by the present Government at Rome. The purport of the Cardinal's note is to warn all nations and persons, that church property and effects purchased under such confiscation will not be considered as valid in the hands of those who may thus acquire their titles. I enclose a copy of this document; also of the Nuncio's note to me transmitting it, and of my note in acknowledgment.

Mr. Cass, our Chargé d'Affaires to Rome is here, and will set out in a few days for his destination. I have mentioned everything to him within my authentic knowledge in regard to the present attitude of France towards Rome; the substance of which is given at the close of my number 78, as I had it at about that time from the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Richard Rush.

The Roman Republic soon saw itself menaced by powerful enemies, for the Pope's appeal to the Catholic nations of Europe

[20] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Paris. Despatch No. 78 (mentioned in this despatch) is dated March 7, 1849. The part referring to Rome reads as follows: "The cause of the Pope still finds large sympathy here; but what precise course France may pursue in regard to it, I am not yet informed, even if it has been settled. . . ." Richard Rush.

urging them to help him to be restored to his temporal powers soon brought armed assistance. The Republic of France was the first nation to act on the Pope's appeal, resolving to send an expeditionary force to aid in the restoration of papal authority. A better understanding of the objects and purposes of France's intervention may be had if we bear in mind that when Louis Napoleon [21] was elected to the presidency of the Republic, he realized that to achieve his ambitious designs it was necessary to please the conservative Catholic party which, of course, was anxious to help restore the Pope to his temporal powers. But there was another and perhaps as important an object in France's determination to intervene in Rome. It was her desire to counterbalance the expanding power of Austria in northern and central Italy at a time when the Austrian army was preparing to lead Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany back to Florence.[22] In despatch No. 87, dated Paris, April 18, 1849, Richard Rush gave the Secretary of State, several interesting sidelights on France's resolution to intervene in the affairs of Rome.

No. 87 Legation of the United States,
Paris, April 18, 1849.[23]

Hon. John M. Clayton,
Secretary of State,
Sir:

. . . The Ministry backed by the Assembly yesterday decided, by a vote of 388 to 161, upon sending an armed force to Italy as auxiliary to the restoration of the Papal authority in Rome. The force is understood to consist of about six thousand troops. This is no more than the consummation of a policy for some time meditated by France. The very force to be sent is the same that was upon the eve of being despatched on the Pope's first dethronement when General Cavaignac was executive head of the Republic. From the time the first impulsive

[21] An excellent study on the policies of Louis Napoleon in France's intervention in Rome in 1849 may be found in Federico Torre, *Memorie storiche sull'intervento francese in Roma nel 1849*, (Turin, 1853), 2 vols.

[22] Except for a brief period during the revolution of 1849, he was Grand Duke from 1824 to 1859. On April 27, 1859, he lost the duchy forever. On July 21, 1859 he abdicated in favor of his son, Ferdinand IV. Marraro, *op. cit.*, 35, 155.

[23] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Paris.

shocks of the Revolution began to subside, France has been little friendly in deeds, whatever her occasional language, to republics or provisional governments suddenly starting up in other countries, after her own example. She has refused to recognize them in any part of Europe; and this vote of the National Assembly yesterday, is clearly a vote against the popular movement. The ground on which the Ministry in opening their plan on the day preceding seemed desirous to place it, viz., the vote of the Assembly on the 30th of March (when news first arrived of the overthrow of the Piedmontese army by the Austrian under Radetzki and consequent recovery of Lombardy by Austria) "that if, in order to better guarantee the integrity of the Piedmontese territory and better protect the interests and honor of France, the Executive power considered that it was bound to give to its negotiations the support of a partial and temporary occupation in Italy, it would find in the National Assembly the most complete co-operation," is fallacious. It was subsequently all but abandoned in debate. Six thousand troops would be mockery against supposed encroachment on the part of Austria. France has no such imagination at present. She goes against the popular movement in effect if not in form, throughout Italy, as foreboding through its immaturity more evil than it will cure. Such at least is the key to her deliberate vote of yesterday.

Richard Rush.

With his despatch to Mr. Clayton, dated April 27, 1849, Mr. Cass transmitted a copy of the despatch dated April 24, he had received from the acting vice consul at Civita Vecchia, announcing the arrival at that port of a French force, for the purpose of "intervention." Mr. Cass continued:

> . . . When I left the Assembly, which was about three hours since, a motion was under discussion to despatch a deputation to Civita Vecchia, to confer with General Oudinot, and ascertain, as far as possible, his intentions. Although there is much excitement and commotion, there are fewer demonstrations of hostility, on the part of the people, at this vicinity of the French troops, than I had expected to see. This is owing, I think, in a great degree to the pacific character of the proclamation, (a copy and translation of which, marked B, are appended) published by the French Commander immediately on landing at Civita Vecchia.[24]

[24] Declaration of the Commander in chief of the French Division to the Governor of Civita Vecchia

The government of the French Republic, animated by liberal and friendly motives, declares that it will respect the wishes of the majority of the Roman

On occasions like the present, the requirements of etiquette and, more, the observances of official propriety are very apt to be disregarded. Although I have had, as a matter of course, no official communication with the existing government, and have strenuously endeavored, as far as was compatible with delicacy and dignity, to avoid any such intercourse, nevertheless, as I had the honor to inform you, in my despatch of the 21st inst., repeated applications have been made to me by the Ministry, to which, looking to my instructions, I have been unable to accede. I added, in explanation, to save ill feeling, and to prevent a repetition of similar overtures, which, it seems to me, are characterised by a great want of dignity and self respect, that I was awaiting instructions from my government, based upon more precise information than it possessed at the period of my departure. This declaration was received with entire satisfaction, and put an end, as I supposed, to further intercourse, for the present. But at a late hour last night, and again this morning, I have been requested by the President of the Assembly (Prince Canino) and by other individuals, at the instance of the Ministry, to proceed to Civita Vecchia, and solicit an interview with the French Commanding Officer for the purpose of submitting the ultimatum of the government. That ultimatum is as follows: the Ministry demand an armistice of fifteen days. Within that time they engage to submit the question of the papal restoration to the vote of the people, and if that be in the affirmative, to remodel the Constitution conformably. At the expiration of that period, the French to withdraw from Roman territory, no farther cause or necessity for their remaining, the people having expressed their wishes. In the event of refusal, war to be declared.[25] It is

nation—it comes as their friend, with the view of maintaining their legitimate influence, and will not suffer to be imposed upon them a form of government they do not desire.

As regards the governor of Civita Vecchia, he will be maintained in his functions, and the French government will provide for the augmentation of his expenses occasioned by the arrival of the expeditionary corps. All provisions, all requisitions necessary for the support of the French troops will be paid for in cash.

Civita Vecchia

April 24, 1849

Il Capo Squadrone Ajutante di Campo del Commandante in Capo
Espivent

—Stock, *op. cit.*, 35.

[25] The exact text of the ultimatum reads as follows:

Article 1 — The Roman Republic accepts the deliberation of the French National Assembly which authorized the expedition of French troops to Italy

hoped, from the tenor of the proclamation issued by Genl. Oudinot [26] that these terms will be favorably regarded by him. I think differently, however. I think, from information I have received from Gaeta, that the expedition has been undertaken with the determination to restore the Pope, without regard to the sentiments of the nation, and that no proposal, in the nature of a compromise, will be entertained for a moment. I am urged, by the common considerations of humanity, to prevent the effusion of blood, to promote the cause of liberty, to be the bearer of these terms. But, however willingly, under other circumstances, I would undertake to serve such interests, the present occasion is not one when I could assume a mission of this character with propriety, or even, if unattended with objections, with any prospect of efficaciousness, and I have therefore declined it. Of the real motives of the Ministry, in demanding of me this office, I am perfectly well aware. Their object was to create the impression, for the sake of whatever benefit may ensue to them from such a belief, that their cause is favored and countenanced by the government of the United States. Whether such be the case or not, I have expressed no opinion on the subject; neither have I considered it necessary, in declining, to enter into political reasons, or to refer to the established principles of our government, which regulate our foreign relations. I merely replied, that to present myself to the Commanding officer of the French forces, without the sanction of official character, which

in order to prevent foreign intervention, and will be grateful to the Assembly for the help it will receive.

Article 2 — The Roman people have exercised the right to pronounce themselves freely on the form of government they wish to establish. The French Republic, which has never denied this right, will be pleased to recognize it in a solemn manner as soon as the Constitution voted by the National Roman Assembly will be enacted by the popular vote.

Article 3—Rome will welcome the French soldiers as brothers, but French troops will not occupy the city except when and if it is threatened, in which case the Government of the Roman Republic will request it. The civil and military authorities of the Roman Republic will retain their legal rights. The French Republic guarantees in a special manner the right of the Constituent Assembly to complete and put in execution the Constitution of the Republic.

To the three articles which were prepared with the full approval of the Triumvirate, Mr. Cass added another article which qualified him to sign the treaty in his capacity of Minister of the United States, if the conditions were finally accepted.

[26] Nicolas Charles Victor Oudinot (1791-1863). Duke of Reggio. Though he had distinguished himself in the Napoleonic campaigns (1809-14), he is chiefly remembered as the commander of the French expedition which occupied Rome in 1849. Cf. Feiertag, *op. cit.*, 59, 60; Marraro, *op. cit.*, 66, 73, 78, 79, 80, 84, 87; Stock, *op. cit.*, 33, 34, xxv, 35, 48-49, 43, 46.

> could alone give value to my services, might very justly be regarded by him as an act of impertinent interference, calculated to prejudice rather than benefit their cause. More than this it appeared to me it would be superfluous and unnecessary to say, in my present position. . . .[27]

Despite these statements of the American minister, there is abundant evidence from trustworthy and authoritative sources to prove that Cass, accepting the suggestion made by the Prince of Canino, representing the Ministry, did act as mediator in behalf of the Roman Republic. General Oudinot, commander of the French forces, reported to Lesseps[28] that Cass had left a paper with him, embodying these proposals, to which Cass had added another " in which it was proposed that he should sign the agreement as minister of the United States."

The following is the text of the letter that General Oudinot transmitted to Lesseps on the subject of Cass' intervention:

> L'ambassadeur des États-Unis (M. Cass fils du général) était venu hier à mon quartier-général, et m'avait exprimé le désir de contribuer, *dans des conditions non officielles,* à faire comprendre au gouvernement romain la nécessité de mettre promptement un terme aux calamités qui pesent sur la population. J'ai dit à l'ambassadeur des États-Unis, qu'au point de vue de l'humanité, j'étais associé à ce voeu, que je préférais la paix à la guerre, mais que je réclamais, avant tout, une solution immédiate. J'ai ajouté que si l'on nous contraignait à la guerre, le succés ne pouvait être douteux. Je n'ai point d'ailleurs confié a M. l'ambassadeur des États-Unis le soin de faire des propositions en mon nom. Je recuille volontiers, à titre de renseignements, les opinions individuelles, et c'est de concert *avec vous seul* que je

[27] Stock, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

[28] Ferdinand Marie de Lesseps. (1805-94). For a detailed account of his Roman mission, cf. M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, *La mission à Rome Mai 1849: mémoire présenté au conseil d'état,* (Paris, 1849), 132 pp. This publication appeared in Italian under the following title: *Documenti officiali intorno alla questione di Roma presentati al Consiglio di Stato a Parigi dal signor Ferdinando di Lesseps.* Archivio Istorico-Contemporaneo-Italiano della Tipografia Elvetica. Prima traduzione italiana. (Turin, 1849), 196 pp. See also: Stock, *op. cit.*, 34n, xxv, 39; Ferdinand de Lesseps, *Recollections of Forty Years,* (New York, 1888), I, 40-41; Farini, *op. cit.*, IV, 111-112, agrees with Lesseps. Legge, in his *Pius IX*, p. 277, states that Cass visited Lesseps, " and volunteered his assistance in framing terms of agreement." Thayer makes a similar statement, but no authorities are cited by these two writers. Marraro, *op. cit.*, 78, 85, 87.

fais connaître à Rome les conventions qui me semblent compatibles avec les droits et la dignité de mon pays.[29]

General Oudinot, regretting profoundly that the application of Mr. Cass, to which he had given no importance, had given the Triumvirs an excuse to delay their reply to the ultimatum of Lesseps, recalled that Mr. Cass had in fact left with him a paper which he had scarcely read. General Oudinot, however, transmitted the paper containing the three propositions to Lesseps.[30] The paper was in the handwriting of the Prince of Canino, the Vice-President of the Roman Assembly. To make certain that a copy reached Lesseps, the Prince of Canino presented a second copy of the propositions to him in person.

In the light of his instructions, Lesseps refused to discuss the propositions with the authorities of the Roman Republic, whom he was especially charged not to recognize. Furthermore, Lesseps was anxious to avoid entering into written correspondence with the Republicans on the subject of the propositions.[31]

From the very nature of the case it was clear that Lesseps could never accept the propositions, since they implied the formal recognition of the Roman Republic and contained also, by implication, a treaty of alliance. These facts explain why the articles were never discussed or taken into the slightest consideration either by Oudinot or by Lesseps. On this phase of the question, Farini [32] wrote:

> The General, scarcely casting a glance at these articles, so contrary to the commission given M. Lesseps, and so entirely at variance with his own ideas, answered Mr. Cass, that, on the score of humanity,

[29] Lesseps, *op. cit.*, 27.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*, 28.

[32] Luigi Carlo Farini (1812-66). In 1847-48 under secretary of state in Rome; in 1850 minister of education in Turin; in 1859-60 dictator of Emilia; in 1860 minister of interior; in 1860-61 the King's lieutenant in Naples; Prime minister 1862-63. Cf. his *Storia dello Stato Romano dall'anno 1815 al 1850*, (Florence, 1853), 4 vols. In Vol. IV, 107 ff, Farini recounts the story of Cass' mission to General Oudinot before the bombardment of Rome. Cf. also: Stock, *op. cit.*, 10n.

he was desirous of peace, but that beyond all he desired an honourable peace and a speedy conclusion; and then, without saying further, he took leave of the Ambassador, and gave no account of the interview to M. Lesseps.

The following extracts from the despatches of the Vice-consul of the United States at Civita Vecchia,[33] the principal seaport of the Roman States, and nearest to the capital, from which it is distant about sixty miles, to Nicholas Browne, the Consul General at Rome, show the activity and military movements at that port during this critical period.[34]

Dec. 4, 1848. Announced the arrival of the French St. of War, *Osiris*, 70 men and 2 guns. It was from Marseilles, and had on board a Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. le Baron da Tour d'Auvergne, who, after an interview with the French Consul, reembarked and the ship left in the direction of France, but it is rumored her destination was Gaeta.

Dec. 10, 1848. The *Osiris*, 70 men and 2 guns returned. She came from Gaeta. Report the arrival also of the French *Vauban* this morning, 320 men and 16 guns. She is from Palermo. She has again left for Naples or Gaeta.

April 15, 1849. I have the honor to inform you of the arrival here yesterday of the U. S. Str. Corvette the *Alleghany*, Capt. Hunter, 190 men and 2 guns. The object of her visit was to land General Avezzana and suite from Genoa. After having accomplished which she put to sea for Naples on her way to Palermo.

In a letter to Cass, the same day, the Vice-consul of Civita Vecchia reported that Avezzana's party consisted in all of twenty persons.

April 24, 1849. Announced the arrival of the French Str. Fregate *Panama*, having on board Genl. Oudinot, his staff, and 1,320 men destined to form part of the armed intervention on the part of the French Government. The number of troops destined for this place is variously stated from 8 to 10,000 men, but I believe that from 7 to 8,000 men is nearer the quantity. The authorities here it would appear have come to an arrangement for the peaceful occupation of this

[33] It has not been possible to discover who the vice-consul of the United States at Civita Vecchia was during this period. Cf. Marraro, *op. cit.*, 74, 166.

[34] MS in Archives of American Consulate, Rome. Despatch of April 24, 1849, also published by Stock, *op. cit.*, 35.

City by the French troops, which arrangement having been accomplished the *Panama* proceeded to sea apparently with the intention of calling the remainder of the Expedition, which is reported to be in the water and within a short distance of the coast. Up to this hour 5½ p.m. neither the *Panama* or any other vessel has since made its appearance. . . .

April 25, 1849. Arrival of French squadron consisting of some thirteen vessels, mostly steamers. The French flag in unison with that of the Roman Republic has been hoisted on the fortress, but at present the French troops occupy no post. Some are quartered in various parts of the town, others at the Capuchin monastery and grounds outside the city. Excitement prevailed, and a few proposed making a resistance to the entry of the French, but they were quickly overruled, and everything has gone on tranquilly.

April 28, 1849. This morning French troops left this town it is said for Rome, leaving here only a sufficiently number of men to garrison the place, say 900 to 1000 men. The city is put in *stato di assedio*, and every day the French authorities are becoming more rigorous.

In later despatches the Vice-consul announced additional movements of French troops and the arrival and departure of vessels. He continued to send despatches to his superior in Rome until the mail between Civita Veechia and Rome was finally cut off.

Urged by his generals and Gaeta, Oudinot hastened to attack Rome. On the morning of April 30, Oudinot was outside the walls of Rome. Garibaldi, with his troops, made a furious attack against his enemy, forcing him to retreat hurriedly. The same fate, and even worse, fell on the King of Naples, who had advanced with his army as far as Palestrina. Having been forced to retreat on May 9, the King was pursued and shamefully defeated at Velletri on May 19.

Meanwhile with the arrival of French re-enforcements from Civita Vecchia, Oudinot attacked Rome again on the night of June 3. Many feats of valor were shown at Villa Pamphili, Quattrovento, Vascello, and Villa Spada, where the final episode of the defence was fought on June 30.

When the bombardment of Rome began, the consular representatives of the foreign nations in the Holy City wrote an appeal in Italian to General Oudinot which was delivered by Colonel Ghilardi on the battlefield. The appeal read as follows:

Roma, 24 giugno alle 7 della sera.[35]

Signor Generale!

I sottoscritti agenti consolari rappresentanti dei rispettivi loro governi si fanno lecito d'esporvi, o signor generale, il profondo dolore che sentono in vedere che voi abbiate fatto subire all'Eterna Città un bombardamento di più giorni e più notti. La presente è diretta, signor generale, a far le rimostranze le più energiche contro un tal modo d'attacco che non solo mette in pericolo le vite e le sostanze degli abitanti neutrali e pacifici ma altresì quella delle donne e dei fanciulli innocenti. Noi, o signor generale, ci facciamo animo a farvi conoscere che un tal bombardamento ha già costato la vita a più persone innocenti, ed ha distrutto certi capi d'opera di belle arti i quali non potranno più mai essere rifatti. Noi poniamo fiducia in voi, signor generale, che in nome dell'umanità e delle nazioni civili desisterete da un bombardamento ulteriore anche per risparmiare la distruzione della città monumentale, che viene considerata come posta sotto la protezione morale di tutte le nazioni civili del mondo.

Noi abbiamo l'onore di essere con profondo rispetto, signor generale,

Vostri umilissimi servitori,

Freeborn, Agente consolare di S. M. Britannica
D. Marstaller, Console di S. M. il Re di Prussia
Cav. P. C. Magrini, Addetto alla Legazione di S. M. il Re de' Paesi Bassi
Giov. Bravo, Console di S. M. il Re di Danimarca
Cav. Kolb, Console di S. M. il Re di Wurtemberg
A. Shakerg, Segretario della Repubblica di San Salvadore nell'America Centrale
Nicola Brown, Console degli Stati Uniti
I. E. Freeman, Console degli Stati Uniti per Ancona
Girolamo Borea, Console generale di S. M. il Re di Sardegna e Provvisoriamente anche di Toscana
Hysson, Console generale del Portogallo

In his reply General Oudinot did not deny the bombardment, but merely explained that he had received orders from his government to enter Rome at all costs. The following is the text of the reply of General Oudinot to the consular agents:

[35] Cf. Federico Torre, *Memorie storiche sull'intervento francese in Roma nel* 1849. (Turin, 1853). 2 vols. [II, 251-252]. It should be noted that two of the ten officials who signed the appeal were Americans.

Ai Signori Agenti Consolari in Roma

Dal Quartiere Generale 25 giugno.

Signori!

Le ultime istruzioni del mio Governo in data del 29 maggio contengono testualmente ciò che segue:

"Noi abbiamo esauriti i mezzi di conciliazione. È venuto il momento in cui bisogna assolutamente oprar con vigor o rinunziare ad una impresa per cui è stato sparso il sangue dei figli della Francia: ad una impresa in cui per conseguenza vi va del nostro onore come anche vi entrano i più grandi interessi della politica all'estero. In tal condizione non è più possibile l'esitare. Importa dunque, o generale, che senza perdere un istante voi marciate su Roma con tutte le forze imponenti che ora stanno riunite sotto gli ordini vostri, e che voi malgrado tutte le resistenze ne pigliate possesso. Tale è la volontà del governo della Repubblica che io sono stato incaricato di comunicarvi."

Voi vedete, o signori, gli ordini del mio Governo sono assoluti; il mio dovere è stabilito. Io adempirò l'opera di cui sono incaricato.

Senza dubbio il bombardamento di Roma cagionerà l'effusione del sangue innocente, e guasterà monumenti che dovrebbero essere eterni. Io ne sarò quanto altri mai afflittissimo. Voi conoscete, o signori, a questo riguardo come io la pensi; mi sono abbastanza spiegato nelle notificazioni indirizzate il 13 di questo mese al Triumvirato, al Presidente della Assemblea Nazionale, ecc.

Io ho avuto l'onore di parteciparvi quella notificazione della quale vi compiego altre copie. Dopo il 13 la condizione militare delle due armate è del tutto mutata. Dopo gloriosi combattimenti le truppe poste sotto i miei ordini hanno dovuto venire all'assalto; esse si sono fortemente stabilite sui ripari di Roma. Con tutto ciò, l'inimico non avendo ancor fatto la sua sommessione, io sono obbligato di continuare le opere della guerra.

Più sarà differita la resa della piazza, e più grandi saranno le calamità da voi sì ginstamente temute; ma la colpa di tali disastri non sarà dei Francesi, la storia li assolverà da qualunque imputazione.

Ricevete ecc.

Oudinot di Reggio [36]

[36] Federico Torre, *Memorie storiche sull'intervento francese in Roma nel 1849*, II, 251-253. The text of the protest of the foreign consuls in Rome to General Oudinot was published in *Il Contemporaneo: giornale quotidiano.* Rome, June 26, 1849.

Meanwhile, the following despatches of Richard Rush to Clayton during this period reflect French anxiety over the early disasters encountered by the French army.

No. 91

Legation of the United States[37]
Paris, May 9, 1849.

Hon. John M. Clayton,
Secretary of State.
Sir:

. . . The first disasters to the French expedition sent to Rome, and debate and proceeding which they led to in the National Assembly day before yesterday, cannot fail to attract the attention of our government. I send specially the *Moniteur* which gives the account. The vote in the Assembly to the effect that the expedition ought not to be turned aside from the object assigned to it, is regarded as a defeat to the Ministry, although the resolution upon which the vote was taken is not very precise in its terms. Whether the Ministers will resign or not, does not appear to be known as yet. I was last night at the reception of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, where the prevailing belief seemed to be that they would not, the election of a new assembly being so near at hand. But, without doubt, this failure thus far, and so totally unexpected, of the French intervention and French arms in Italy, is destined to become a stirring event; the results of which are not now to be all foreseen, though some of them will probably be of great magnitude. . . .

Richard Rush.

No. 93

Legation of the United States,
Paris, May 22, 1849.[38]

Hon. John M. Clayton,
Secretary of State.
Sir:

. . . That the French elections have been influenced by the rapid spread of democratic principles over large districts of Germany during the latter part of April and beginning of this month, some of the districts being near her frontiers also, is highly presumable, had no other causes been at work. But perhaps, as a single cause, the most operative has been the expedition to Rome. This ill-fated expedition, so inconsistent in its principle with the avowed Republicans, and provisional government making of France herself, had turned out, up to

[37] MS in Archives of the American Embassy, Paris.

[38] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Paris.

the day when the polls opened, signally abortive and disastrous as an act of war. This for France with her feeling! This, as the first feat of arms under Louis Napoleon! French susceptibilities were roused. Wit, ridicule, indignation, used their weapons freely in the canvass; and they could not do otherwise than tell upon the "electoral urns," in a case where the government had put itself into a position so unfortunate and so assailable on every side. . . .

Richard Rush.

Private

Legation of the United States,
Paris, June 6, 1849.[39]

Hon. John M. Clayton,
Secretary of State,

Dear Sir:

. . . The embarrassments to France of the Italian question, increase from day to day. Oudinot has now 25,000 men before Rome. He would have opened his fire upon the city but for the arrival of Lesseps, the negotiator; and had the latter arrived only four hours later than he did, he would have been too late to stop it. Lesseps has since been superseded, the perplexities of his position acting upon a mind sensitive to high public duties, having affected his brain. I have been told that his successor, a sort of new negotiator side by side with the General, carries out positive orders to Oudinot to make his attack upon Rome. This would seem nearly incredible all things considered, yet my information though not from an official source, came from a source entitled to some attention. I heard it last night only. . . .

Richard Rush.

No. 94

Legation of the United States,
Paris, June 8, 1849.[40]

Hon. John M. Clayton,
Secretary of State,

Sir:

. . . The pending operations of the French before Rome engage attention most anxiously. M. Lesseps, who had been sent out by the government as a negotiator to act with the commanding general in the hope of getting the troops more advantageously into the city, returned a few days ago. He got openly at points with the General. The Government has not been satisfied with his conduct and even

[39] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Paris.

[40] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Paris.

believed his mind to be affected. This I had from a member of the government. It is said by others since his return that his conversation at present gives no evidence of it. His cause is espoused by the adversaries of the government into whose arms it is said he is about to throw himself. A diplomatic successor to him, M. de Courcelles,[41] has been sent out to General Oudinot, and it is scarcely concealed that he has carried an order for an attack upon Rome. The Mountain party and all who sympathize with them, make the most of this, though not given in the President's message. Interpellations upon the subject have been addressed to the Ministers and are to be taken up on Monday, the eleventh; until which time I will keep this dispatch open. A fresh attack upon Rome is big with consequences whichever way it may result. Failure might almost bring immediate danger of overthrow to the government, such exasperation would it kindle up in Paris; and even success though complete, cannot cure the intrinsic difficulties foreign and domestic which will still beset the question. There is enough in it observed an able man in French and European affairs with whom I was in conversation a few days ago, " there is enough in it to make half a dozen wars before it is all over." The expression may be too strong, but it is not without some basis.

June 12th. The expected debate in the Assembly came on yesterday. There was no need of putting questions to the Minister about the French army before Rome, hostilities having avowedly recommenced. The newspapers of Saturday had contained a dispatch from General Oudinot to the Minister of War dated the 4th instant detailing his belligerent operations. These, by his own accounts, had been successful as first operations, though he had not got possession of the city. He was acting under instructions. Ledru-Rollin[42]

[41] Claude-François-Philibert Tircuy de Corcelles (1802-?). As representative of Orne at the Constituent Assembly of 1848, he upheld the policy of Louis Napoleon. He favored the French expedition to Rome; he was sent to see Pius IX at Gaeta, and long sought the reinstatement of papal authority in Rome (1849). After the coup d'état of December 1851, he broke relations with Louis Napoleon. He wrote " Souvenir de 1848: première intervention dans les affaires de Rome," in *Le Correspondant*, (1858): For details on de Courcelles' participation in the affairs of Rome, cf. Leti, *Roma e lo stato pontificio dal 1849 al 1870*, I, 155, 156, 181. Bianchi, *Diplomazia europea in Italia*, VI, 263-270; Mollat, *La question romaine*, 243, 270-275. Stock, *op. cit.*, 58.

[42] Alexander Auguste Ledru-Rollin (1807-1874). A violent enemy of the internal and foreign policy of Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon and especially against the expedition to Rome. He moved the impeachment of the president and his ministers. The motion was defeated, and next day, (June 13, 1849) he headed what he called a peaceful demonstration, but which his enemies called

attacked the government very sharply. He insisted that the constitution had been violated, the army having been employed against the liberties of another people and war made without the assent of the Assembly. Vehemently denouncing the whole policy, he demanded also the impeachment of the President and Ministers. The defence of the government came from the Prime Minister, Odilon Barrot.[43] He denied the charges, and spoke at length. The *Moniteur* of this morning which I send, gives the debate. The latter part of it became extremely violent. I heard it from the diplomatic tribune. Ledru Rollin closed his reply to the Minister by declaring in the name of the Mountain, "we will defend the Constitution by every means, *even with arms in our hands.*" At these words a tempest of applause broke from the left where his party sat. They all rose. The Right rose too, under calls to order. Each party raised their arms as in defiance of each other—in some instances with clutched fists. Uproar was at its height. It hardly went down during the rest of the sitting. When the vote came the policy of the government was sustained by 361 to 203. The proposition to impeach was not specially acted upon, but may be considered as decided by the other vote. So the question rests for the present. . . .

Richard Rush.

The intervention of France was not the only great obstacle the Romans had to overcome. The Austrian government, by its Minister of Foreign Affairs, also announced its determination to support the temporal sway of the Pope; the more particularly that it had been guaranteed by the Treaty of Vienna, signed by all the powers of Europe.[44]

armed insurrection. The uprising was readily suppressed. He escaped to London, where he joined the executive of the revolutionary committee of Europe, with Kossuth and Mazzini among his colleagues. Cf. *Ledru-Rollin, ses discours et ses écrits politiques*, (Paris, 1879), 2 vols., edited by his widow; A. R. Calman, *Ledru-Rollin and the second French republic*, (New York, 1922); A. R. Calman, *Ledru-Rollin après 1848 et les proscrits français en Angleterre* (Paris, 1921).

[43] In 1846 Barrot made a tour of the Near East, returning in time to take part in the preliminaries of the revolution. He became the chief of Louis Napoleon's first ministry, hoping to extract liberal measures, but he was dismissed in 1849. After the coup d'état of December 1851, he accused Napoleon of high treason, and suffered imprisonment.

[44] Stock, *op. cit.*, 21.

The despatches of C. A. Magnani, Vice-consul at Ancona,[45] to James Freeman, United States Consul in Rome, are interesting because they give a vivid picture of the siege of the city by the Austrian forces during this period. The following are his despatches on the subject:

Ancona, May 25, 1849.[46]

Mr. Consul, James Freeman,[47]
Rome.

Sir,

I have to report that our Port is blocked up by an Austrian squadron composed of two frigates—one 60, the other 40 guns, two brigs, 16 guns, each and two steamers.

Austrian troops are daily expected to raise a siege also to the City of Ancona from Romagna.

I am very respectfully

C. A. Magnani
Vice Consul.

P.S. Herein inclosed you will find the return of foreign trade for 1848.

This moment (5 p.m.) an estefette is arrived from Rimini bringing the intelligence that 10,000 strong Austrian troops are marching toward Ancona. I will vouch this intelligence for a good one.

C. A. M.

[45] C. A. Magnani, vice consul of the United States at Ancona, 1834-1849. Stock, *op. cit.*, 103, 105, 106.

[46] MS in Archives of American Consulate, Rome.

[47] James Edwards Freeman (1808-1884). In 1836 he left America for Italy, where he remained a voluntary expatriate to the end of his life. In 1840 he was appointed consul to Ancona, a position which he held until July, 1849. Most of the time he lived in Rome discharging his slight duties through an agent. Upon his own evidence, it was an unimportant commission, which he remembered chiefly for the expense it caused him. He published two volumes of memoirs: *Gatherings from an Artist's Portfolio*, (1877) and *Gatherings from an Artist's Portfolio in Rome* (1883). [*Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 11.] Cf. also: Feiertag, *op. cit.*, 60; Marraro, *op. cit.*, 79-80, 170; Stock, *op. cit.*, 46-47, 384, 385n.

Ancona, June 10, 1849.[48]

Mr. Consul, Jas. Freeman,
Rome.

Sir,

This town being closely besieged now by Austrian troops, I doubt the present will find its way to Rome, or whether my last letter reached you as all communications are at present cut off with us. At all events I venture this again on chance to inform you that owing to Ancona being badly fortified and garrisoned by only 800 men, all volunteer and indisciplined youths, fears are entertained that it will be soon compelled to surrender to the Austrian far superior and much more efficient force than the Italian.

I remain very respectfully,

C. A. Magnani
Vice Consul.

Consulate of the United States
Ancona, June 19th, 1849.[49]

Mr. Consul, Jas. Freeman,
Rome.

Sir,

I beg leave to report for the information of the Department of State, that after a continued bombardment for 8 hours from the Austrians upon this city and fort, it was at last compelled to surrender yesterday morning when the municipal corporation went out in a body to capitulate with the Lieut. Marshal Count Wimpffen,[50] com-

[48] MS in Archives of American Consulate, Rome.

[49] MS in Archives of American Consulate, Rome.

[50] Franz Wimpffen. (1797-1870). On May 8, 1848, he attacked Bologna, despite the fact that on the previous day he had announced at Castelfranco that he had come to "re-establish the legitimate government of the Supreme Pontiff, who had been overthrown by a perverse faction." Bologna withstood the attacks to May 16, but, threatened by heavy siege artillery that had arrived from Ferrara, it was forced to surrender and accept the temporary Austrian government until the arrival of the pontifical commissioner. The Austrian troops, encouraged by their victories at Bologna, attacked Ancona, aided by their fleet under the command of Admiral Dahlrup. Livio Zambeccari defended the city to the evening of June 18, when, deeming further resistance impossible, he entrusted his powers to the municipality which, on the following day, negotiated the surrender of the city. Even Perugia was occupied by the Austrians. In this manner the Austrians took possession of the three principal cities of the Papal States in the Romagne, Marches, and Umbria. This fact worried the

manding an Austrian division, at his headquarters in Colle Ameno (the seat of Count Camerata of Ancona) 2 miles distance from town.

I also beg further to state that the ratification of the capitulation of Ancona to the Austrians took place this morning at 4 o'clock.

This afternoon at 4 o'clock the Austrians take possession of the citadel; and to-morrow morning at 6 o'clock all the other posts will be delivered up.

If I can procure a copy of the capitulation in time you will find it herein inclosed.

The political refugees, I understand, must leave by midday to-morrow.

The British Consul at the request of Marshal Wimpffen was present at the above capitulation, the former having agreed to undertake in concert with the municipal authorities the sending out of the refugees, by sea, and two vessels, have been already freighted to convey them to Corfù partly, and part to Malta under the protection of the British flag and British's pass.

Tranquillity and order are perfectly restored here.

I am very respectfully, etc.

C. A. Magnani
Vice Consul.

Consulate of the United States
Ancona, Oct. 17th 1850.[51]

Hon. L. Cass
United States Chargé d'Affaires
Rome.

. . . On the 6th instant Marshal Radetzschi [*sic*] arrived in Ancona where he proposed passing three days, but instead he has remained here only two days in consequence of his having been called back to the Tyrol by the Emperor of Austria.

The object of the Marshal's visit to this city seems to have been something more than a simple visit, I understand, but which I was not able to penetrate.

That General was received with reserve by the inhabitants, and enthusiastically by the Austrian garrison.

C. A. Magnani
U. S. Consul

Amer. Con. Florence.

French who were very much displeased over the protection the Holy Father received from Austria, since it renewed and aggravated the conditions of 1831-32. M. Rosi, *Storia Contemporanea d'Italia,* (Turin, 1922), 232.

[51] MS in Archives of American Consulate, Florence.

On July 2, 1849, the French forces entered Rome and Garibaldi with 3,000 volunteers left the city to hasten to the defence of the Republic of Venice [52] which was still holding out against the Austrians. The following message to Garibaldi, which A. Ardisson,[53] American Vice-consul, sent at the behest of Mr. Cass, on the day the French entered Rome, shows the desire of the Americans to help the Republicans escape safely.

Citoyen Général,[54]

Le soussigné a été chargé par Mr. Cass, Ministre Plénipotentiaire des États-Unis d'Amérique, à Rome, de vous prier, de passer chez lui, dans la journée, mais le plus tôt possible, Hôtel de Russie, via Babuino, No. 9.

Ma commission remplie il ne me reste qu'à vous souhaiter Santé et bonheur.

Du Consulat des États-Unis d'Amérique
Rome le 2 Juillet 1849

A. Ardisson
Vice Consul

(To. Gen. Garibaldi)

A number of Italian refugees after reaching Civita Vecchia safely, immediately called on the American Vice-consul to obtain the means to continue on their way to the United States. The plight and anxiety of these men are described in the following extracts from the despatches of the American Vice-consul at Civita Vecchia to Mr. Cass.[55]

July 12, 1849.

. . . Numbers of Italian refugees have arrived here most of them without means of continuing their route for the United States where all seem to wish to go. I have been to the French Command here to state the really heart rending condition of these poor fellows, and he

[52] The Republic of Venice, under the presidency of Daniele Manin, held out until August 22, 1849.

[53] Antoine Ardisson. Appointed Vice-Consul in Rome in 1846; he was also assistant secretary of the American Legation during the missions of Martin, Cass and Stockton. Feiertag, *op. cit.*, 27; Stock, *op. cit.*, 16, 114, 221, 268, 276.

[54] MS in Biblioteca del Risorgimento, Milan, Italy. [*Busta* No. 249].

[55] MS of these letters in Archives of American Consulate, Rome.

has in consequence written to Genl. Oudinot, and hopes to obtain a French vessel to take them at least to some place where they may earn their living. When they arrive here they cannot proceed to Genoa because the Sardinian Consul will not vise their passports and those that have gone to Leghorn have been arrested. Some 50 to 60 have gone to Malta, but now the English consul is only able to sign their passports for Malta, there to embark for the United States. So that now there is no other recourse left them, and I fear that if some succour is not offered them they will become desperate and the consequences will be serious.

July 14, 1849.

. . . I should feel greatly obliged by your furnishing me without loss of time with a document to the effect that no promise has been given by the American authorities in Rome to the numerous individuals holding passports for the United States that on their arrival here, pecuniary assistance and a passage gratis to the United States would be found provided for them by the Government of United States. I ask this document to be able to persuade these poor refugees that they are mistaken on this point and that they must have been so informed elsewhere, and not at the Legation of the United States or at the Consulate. . . .

July 17, 1849.

. . . I hasten to reply to your letter of 15th and 17th Inst. the latter enclosing me a passport for Mr. Mazzini, he not having considered it advisable to travel with the one bearing his own name. I am happy to say that the rumour of his arrest is a false one as he left this day per steamer on the 15th Inst. The passport you were kind enough to procure vises to will be sent on to him at Marseilles where it will be of the greatest use to him.

I have followed your instructions in regard to applications for a passage to the United States.

Mr. Sterbini [56] came from Rome with Mr. Consul Brown, and embarked with him for Genoa, I believe on his way to Geneva. . . .

The political conditions that immediately followed the entrance of the French troops in Rome were examined by Mr. Niles in the following despatches to the Secretary of State.

[56] Pietro Sterbini. As director of the *Circolo del Popolo* in Rome, he organized revolutionary demonstrations. He was minister of agriculture and public works, November 1848.

No. 34 Turin, Sept. 22, 1849.[57]

. . . It is greatly to be deplored that Pius IX did not at once, on the expulsion of the insurrectionary government from Rome, make such political concessions to his subjects as the epoch and peculiar exigencies of the circumstances in which he is placed require. This protracted struggle for a more or less extensive temporal sovereignty is having the effect throughout Catholic Europe of dividing the Church on a subject eminently calculated to enlist the passions of the public and to destroy the moral influence of the Catholic faith, which it would seem to be the first duty of the successor of St. Peter to preserve intact, especially now as the prevailing disorders of the social system and the dissolving influence of irreligious doctrines emphatically call for the united power of all forms of christianity to repress or keep them in check as the only means of saving civilization. . . .

N. Niles

Hon. John M. Clayton
Secretary of State

No. 36 Turin, Nov. 10, 1849.[58]

. . . What political liberty has to hope in the States of the Church must flow from a protracted state of tranquillity in Italy, and a well proved disposition of the Roman people not to abuse such privileges as may be accorded to them. But in every event in the last resort the Pontiff must be supreme. This state of things it must be confessed is doubtless unfavourable to the development of the political liberty in Italy, and an immense weight on those energies which the Italian people might otherwise combine, for affecting the independence of their beautiful country from foreign domination. We are forced therefore to the conclusion that whenever the Pope returns to Rome he will do so as an absolute sovereign. It is undeniable that the constitution of the Roman Church has unfortunately outlawed the Roman people from the enjoyment of constitutional freedom as completely as the people of Washington are outlawed from the benefit of a direct representation on the floor of Congress by the Constitution of the United States. Both these exclusions rest on the same foundation, that of a real or a supposed necessity. . . .

N. Niles

The policy of the French Government in the maintenance of an army in Rome as revealed in the debate before the National As-

[57] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Rome.

[58] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Rome.

sembly was discussed by W. C. Rives [59] in despatch No. 5, dated Paris, October 24, 1849.

No. 5 Paris, 24th October, 1849.[60]

To the Hon. J. M. Clayton,
Secretary of State

Sir:

The debate in the National Assembly on the occasion of the credits asked for the support of the expeditionary army at Rome, commenced on Thursday last, and involved necessarily a consideration of the policy, pursued by the Government in the affairs of the Papal States. It was looked to with much anxiety as threatening, in some degree, to divide the hitherto compact majority of the Assembly and affecting thereby the stability of the present administration. The debate continued with great animation for three days and was marked by the distinguished ability in several of the speakers. The measures proposed by the Government were finally carried by a majority of 469 to 180; and what gives additional significance and importance to the result is that Monsieur Odillon Barrot, the President of the Council, in closing the discussion placed the vote to be pronounced by the Assembly expressly upon the issue of approval or disapproval of the policy which had been pursued by the Government in the whole management of the Roman question. The vote, therefore, which was finally rendered, cannot but be considered as consolidating, to a great degree, the moral power of the existing administration, and giving it the prospect of an undisturbed continuance in office, for some time to come.

Nothing else of special importance has occurred here, or in the general affairs of Europe, so far as is known here, since the date of my last despatch.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your most obedient servant.

W. C. Rives

[59] William Cabell Rives (1793-1868). From 1849 to 1853 he served as minister to France, and it is said that the horrible effects of civil war which he witnessed helped to set his mind upon peace when the Civil War raged in the United States. Author of: *History of the Life and Times of James Madison* (1859-68) which ends with the year 1797. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 635-37. Cf. his wife's, Judith Pape Walker Rives, *Tales and Souvenirs of a Residence in Europe*. By a Lady of Virginia. (Philadelphia, 1842).

[60] MS in Archives of American Embassy, Paris.

After an absence of seventeen months, Pius IX returned to Rome in April 1850. Mr. Cass had his first audience with the Holy Father on April 19, when the Pope "adverted with much feeling to the expressions of sympathy and contributions of pecuniary assistance which he had received from citizens of the United States, members of the Catholic Church, during the late events." [61]

A few days after the collapse of the Republic some French soldiers entered the American consulate in Rome and arrested two Italians who had taken refuge on the roof. It was shown in the course of the investigation which followed the complaints of Cass, that two of Browne's servants had that day repeatedly insulted the soldiers while passing, and that an individual in the crowd which had gathered in front of the consul's house, had drawn a poniard on the guard. The patrol, not knowing the character of the house until they were retiring, entered to make the arrests. Satisfactory apology was made to the consul, and the prisoners were released. However, because of his profound sympathies for the Republicans, Browne was unable to set foot on papal territory and was also banished from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The following correspondence between Mr. Rowan,[62] American Chargé d'Affaires in Naples and the Hon. Giustino Fortunato,[63] the Neapolitan Minister of Foreign Affairs, explains the circumstances of Browne's banishment:

[61] Stock, *op. cit.*, xxv.

[62] John Rowan (1773-1853). Judge of the Court of Appeals, 1819-21, he was elected to the United States Senate, 1825-31; commissioned American chargé d'affaires in 1848, Rowan left about January 1, 1850. (*Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, V, 337).

[63] Giustino Fortunato (1777-1862). On July 9, 1848, he was a member of the Chamber of Pari; from 1849 to 1852 he was prime minister and minister of foreign affairs from which posts he resigned suddenly. Cf. A. Musco, *Di un economista basilicatese*, in R. Ciasca, *Nel primo centenario della elevazione di Rionero a comune autonomo.* (Florence, 1912). For the part Browne played in the Roman revolution, cf. Marraro, *op. cit.*, 17, 70-71, 79, 166.

Napoli, 13 febbraio, 1850.[64]

Sigr. Rowan
Incaricato d'Affari degli Stati Uniti d'America

In proseguo della nota che in data degli 11 andante il sottoscritto Ministro Segretario di Stato Presidente del Consiglio de' Ministri incaricato del portafoglio degli Affari Esteri ebbe l'onore di dirigere al Signor Rowan, Incaricato d'Affari degli Stati Uniti d'America, circa l'intimazione fatta allo americano sigr. Nicola Brown di allontanarsi da Napoli, è egli ora in grado di far conoscere al sigr. Incaricato di Affari i motivi che han determinato la polizia ad adottare siffatto provvedimento.

In Dicembre ultimo giunsero qui notizie che il mentovato Brown in unione di un tal Giovanni Ceccarini,[65] Romano, si sarebbe recato in Napoli, con rei disegni, come emissari entrambi di Mazzini, indicandosi benanche le circostanze de' passaporti, del viaggio e di tutt'altro che li risguardava.

Il dì 10 dello scorso mese arrivò il Brown con passaporto senza connotati, e senza l'indicazione della sua condizione, in compagnia della moglie, del figlio, della cameriera, e di un domestico; ma non venne con lui il Ceccarini, stato suo compagno ne' tanti e lunghi suoi viaggi, perchè rimasto in Roma; e di colà si tenne in relazioni tali col Brown da accrescere di cento doppi i giusti sospetti concepiti sul di costui conto, ch'egli fossesi qui recato come uno de' principali agenti e più efficaci de' sovvertitori di ogni ordine sociale.

Prima di venir qui il sigr. Brown, in unione del Ceccarini fu in Parigi, Marsiglia, Ginevra, Torino e Genova, e in intimità coi più sfrenati demogoghi e del famoso Giuseppe Mazzini, massimamente dove questi si trovava nel mentre che le sue peregrinazioni, e l'indole di coloro co' quali aveva egli conversato facevante mere di Lui, questo timore prese maggiore consistenza dopo l'arresto del Ceccarini in Roma, per disposizione di quelle autorità, quale uno de' principali rei dello assassinio del Conte Rossi. Divenuto dunque il Brown soggetto di somma e . . . inquietudine per la polizia di Napoli, gli si è intimato l'ordine di uscire da' Reali domini.

Tutto ciò posto, il sottoscritto si augura che il sigr. Incaricato non vorrà certamente tacciare di arbitrio e di soverchieria il passo dato

[64] MS in Archivio di Stato, Naples, Italy.

[65] Giovanni Ceccarini (1823-1888). In 1848 he took part in the revolutionary uprisings, and in 1849 fought with Garibaldi in Rome. When the pontifical government was restored, he was imprisoned (appearing in the trial for the assassination of Pellegrino Rossi), and was condemned to exile. Cf. Marraro, *op. cit.*, 288.

dalla polizia relativamente al sigr. Brown. Il Governo del Re, al pari di ogni altro governo più incivilito ed umano, ha rispettato sempre e rispetta (giova ripeterlo) il diritto di ospitalità verso gli stranieri, e specialmente verso i cittadini sudditi delle potenze amiche; ma quando essi ne usino, e non ne abusino, e vengono fra noi con innocenti ed onesti fini, ma non con perversi ed intesi a servire a' disegni dei suoi implacabili nemici, i quali non lasciano intento alcun mezzo per poterlo rovesciare. E sarebbe esso indubitabilmente in grave colpa, se in questo caso volesse rispettare chi, lungi di rispettarlo, macchinasse la sua rovina, e si mancasse alla propria e prima sua missione, ch'è quella della conservazione della società affidata alle sue cure.

Nè in mezzo alle non lievi apprensioni sorte per l'apparizione e dimora in Napoli del sigr. Brown la polizia ha ogni senso d'umanità di che è pruova la premura mostrata per sapere se in realtà il di lui figliuolo fosse infermo, ed in tale stato da non seguire il padre, avendo all'uopo inviato de' medici per chiarirsene, di che non ha potuto venire a capo, non essendo stato loro permesso di poterlo visitare. Nulladimeno, ove il sigr. Incaricato d'Affari non ponesse in dubbio la infermità dedotta, il sottoscritto, indi alla sua assicurazione, si recherà a dovere di fare accordare al signor Brown una qualche dilazione alla sua partenza, onde possa rimanere con lui il suo figliuolo. . . .

Legation of the United States of America [66]
Naples, February 16, 1850.

H. E. D. Giustino Fortunato
ecc. ecc.

The undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of the 13th inst., in reference to Mr. Brown. The Chargé has not a single exception to take to the note and if he had known the causes of complaint which this Government has had against Mr. Brown, he would not have interfered in the matter. He has however to say that in his opinion this Government has nothing to fear from such a man as he has neither intellect, nor education.

The Chargé is grateful to the Prime Minister for the permission to allow Mr. Brown to remain until his child (whom he knows to be very sick) shall be able to travel. Mrs. Brown desires to leave for Genoa, this day, as she has just learned that a son of her's who is at school, is at the point of death.

John Rowan.

[66] MS in Archivio di Stato, Naples.

Legation of the United States of America [67]
Naples, April 15, 1850.

H. E. D. Giustino Fortunato
Minister of Foreign Affairs

The undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, has been requested by Mr. Nicholas Brown, late United States Consul at Rome, and now, resident at Geneva, to ask permission for him to return to Naples.

Mr. Brown in his hurried departure from this city by order of the Government, was obliged to abandon a child, which was too much indisposed to bear the fatigue of travel. That child is now convalescent, and his father desires to visit Naples, for the purpose of receiving him from the hands of the physician to whom he was confided. Parental care, in the opinion of the medical adviser, is necessary to the preservation of the life of the child.

The undersigned cannot but believe that a request, prompted by humane motives alone, will be granted by His Majesty's Government.

Edward Joy Morris.

Legation of the United States of America [68]
Naples, 10 July 1850.

The undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, has learned with astonishment that an order from the Prefecture of Police has been notified to Mr. Nicholas Brown temporarily detained in Naples by indisposition of himself and family, to leave Naples in two days.

No reason has been given for so violent a procedure contrary to the rights of hospitality and the privileges secured by treaty. As long as Mr. Brown respects the laws of the country he has every claim to the protection of this Legation, and the undersigned feels himself compelled, until the contrary be proved, to afford it to him. If he has violated any laws here, he is answerable to the tribunals of the country. The undersigned has to observe further to His Excellency, that the Government of the United States is jealous of the liberty of their citizens, and if there were cause of complaint, a communication from your Excellency should have been made to him on the subject.

John Rowan.

H. E. Fortunato
President of the Council of Ministers
and Minister Secy. of State of Foreign Affairs.
Naples.

HOWARD R. MARRARO

Columbia University

[67] MS in Archivio di Stato, Naples.
[68] MS in Archivio di Stato, Naples.

MISCELLANY

I

A Note on Christian Captives in North Africa

Although Moslem military power was destroyed in Spain with the capitulation of Granada on January 2, 1492, the sword of Islam continued to menace the inhabitants of the peninsula. Moslem seapower was still a potent force in the Mediterranean and Spain was kept busy trying to protect her shores against raids of the Infidels who were bent on capturing Christians to be held for ransom or to be used as galley slaves. Despite an elaborate system of watch towers and signal lights these raids occurred with such frequency that the cry "Hay moros en la costa" (There are Moors on the coast) was enough to make even the stoutest hearts quail. The use of this cry in modern Spanish to recommend precaution and care is an indication of its original connotation of a danger which was only too often realized.

Christian seafarers on the Mediterranean likewise ran the risk of attack by raiders, and the number of these travelers captured and carried into bondage to North Africa and Turkey amounted to many thousands. Proof of this is found in the figure of 15,000 Christian slaves who were liberated from Turkish galleys at the battle of Lepanto [1] and in the statement that in Algeria alone there were 30,000 of these captives.[2]

Writers of the period naturally regaled their readers with thrilling accounts of pirate raids, the capture of prisoners, and descriptions of their life in *bagnios* or as galley slaves. But most of these accounts, while undoubtedly accurate in general, cannot be used as historical sources, since they were based on hearsay rather than actual experience. Two writers, however, have left us accurate accounts of life in the *bagnios*, where they spent many weary months waiting to be ransomed. These were Cervantes and Father Jerónimo Gracián, the staunch friend and supporter of Santa Teresa. Cervantes, captured in the Gulf of Lyons on September 26, 1575, while returning to Spain from Italy, spent almost five years as a captive in Algiers. His experiences there furnished the theme for two of his plays: *El trato de Argel* ("Life in Algeria"), and *Los baños de Argel* ("The

[1] Roger Bigelow Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, Vol. IV, *Philip the Prudent* (New York, 1934), 144.

[2] G. T. Northup, *An Introduction to Spanish Literature* (Chicago, 1926), p. 246.

Bagnios of Algeria"), and also for an episode in Don Quijote. Father Gracián was confined for only two years in North Africa, most of this time in Tunis, but he has given us a much more detailed account of conditions there than has the novelist.

Christian captives had a high monetary value, and the question of their disposition was a matter of prime importance. The Pasha had first choice, and as soon as captives were landed, a representative of his selected the ten percent to which he was entitled. The rest were distributed by lot to the captains who had taken part in their seizure. The Pasha reserved the right, however, to claim ownership of any important persons overlooked by his agent. He generally kept these for himself, but occasionally some were sent to Turkey, where they joined a group of outstanding Christians whom the Sultan kept confined in a wooden cage. Father Gracián, at first the slave of a sea captain in Bizerta, was soon claimed by the Pasha, and transferred to Tunis, when it was rumored that he was a wealthy archbishop and a relative of the King of Spain.[3] His unwanted greatness must have been a source of worry, for the Pasha threatened to send him to Constantinople in case of delay in paying the enormous ransom demanded for his release.[4]

As soon as a captive had been allotted to a master, he was chained or fettered, a procedure which had the twofold purpose of identifying him as a slave and of impeding his escape. The Pasha's slaves, who were mostly of the upper classes with a likelihood of being ransomed, were treated less harshly than the others, being exempted from manual labor, and being forced to wear only a light chain, intended to indicate their servitude rather than to restrain their action.[5] Although Father Gracián belonged to this group, he was for some reason shackled with heavy chains and confined day and night in the *bagnio* along with several elderly or crippled Christians.[6] The lot of slaves belonging to private individuals or to the public in general (*el almacén*), a group which had but slight hope of being ransomed, was rather unhappy, for they were forced to do various kinds of manual labor, such as outfitting ships, repairing buildings and walls, tilling the fields, and fetching water and firewood.[7]

[3] *Los trabajos y vida del padre maestro Gracián . . . Obras de Santa Teresa, Apéndices, Sección Quinta,* Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LV, 459b.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 462a-b.

[5] Cervantes. *Don Quijote* (Ozell's Revision of the translation of Peter Motteux, The Modern Library), p. 340.

[6] Gracián, *op. cit.*, p. 461b.

[7] *Don Quijote, ed. cit.*, p. 340; Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel,* Obras Completas (Madrid, 1864), X, 212; Alcalá Yáñez, *El donado hablador,* Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XIII, 581a.

All captives were locked up at night in a *bagnio*. Father Gracián gives us a good description of one of these hell-holes in which he spent nearly two years in Tunis. It was a small underground cave with only one opening for light and air. Life in such a place would be intolerable under any condition, and when one realizes that he was confined there with six hundred others, all wearing chains, one can appreciate his references to it as dark, damp, noisy, fetid, filthy, and overrun with vermin. The priest's statement that any jail in a Christian land is a delightful garden when compared with that *bagnio* does not seem to be exaggerated.[8]

The food received by the captives was as unsatisfactory as their lodging, for Cervantes speaks of the hunger which continually plagued them and their unbearable thirst.[9] Father Gracián supplies more specific information, stating that at Biserta the daily ration was two small loaves of barley bread and very little water. On one occasion this fare was augmented when thirty of them received broth made from half a calf's head, part of the snout being allotted to the priest.[10] The situation at Tunis was little if any better as far as most of the captives were concerned.[11] Father Gracián's lot was much improved, however, for he was constantly the recipient of gifts of food from other prisoners, and renegades of both sexes, even receiving bread made for the Pasha.[12]

One deplorable aspect of captivity was the cruel punishment often inflicted for very slight offences, or merely for the sadistic pleasure of the slave's owner.[13] Among the punishments mentioned by the various writers are hanging, impaling, bastinado, and cutting off the victim's ears or nose. Father Gracián experienced a form of this torture even before he reached Biserta. His captor's boat had been delayed several days by unfavorable weather and the Moslems, hoping to propitiate Allah and Mohammed, burned a cross on the soles of his feet with a heated iron.[14]

The severest penalty inflicted on captives was death by burning. While it is true that in Christian lands certain culprits were burned at the stake, the majority of them were first strangled. But Christians in Moslem hands sentenced to die in this way received no such consideration. They were tied some distance away from the fire, and slowly roasted to death. This penalty was certain to be imposed on captured members of the Inquisition

[8] Gracián, *op. cit.*, p. 461a-b.

[9] *El trato de Argel, Obras completas* (Madrid, 1864), XII, 62.

[10] Gracián, *op. cit.*, p. 459a.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 461a.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 460b.

[13] *Don Quijote, ed. cit.*, p. 340.

[14] Gracián, *op. cit.*, p. 458a.

because of their activities against renegade *Moriscos* in Spain. Father Gracián had been captured on a boat belonging to the Inquisition, and he soon found himself accused of belonging to that tribunal and of being instrumental in causing more than five renegades to be burned at the stake in Spain. The Pasha rallied to his defense, however, and the charges were proven to be unfounded. But many other members of the clergy were not so fortunate, one Carmelite friar being roasted alive merely because he was the relative of a member of the Inquisition.[15] Cervantes mentions another incident of Moslem cruelty toward priests. A renegade *Morisco*, with relatives in Algiers, had been executed in Spain by the Inquisition. When these relatives learned what had happened, they pooled their resources and bought a captive Valencian priest from his master. The innocent victim was tortured in the traditional manner and as he was about to expire was stoned by the vengeful onlookers.[16]

In contrast with the rigors of captivity described above was the tolerance of the Moslems in allowing the Christians almost unlimited freedom in religious matters. Father Gracián states that in the *bagnio* at Tunis was a room with two altars which served as a church. Here several masses were said every day, confessions were heard, and at night vesper services were held, a barrel from a galley serving as the pulpit.[17] This tolerance was motivated by shrewd reasoning, however, for the Pasha realized that it was an effective means of maintaining morale among his slaves. Shortly before the capture of Father Gracián the ruler had bought a Sicilian priest for the sole purpose of having Mass said for the Christians, and so pleased was the Pasha over the acquisition of the Spanish priest who had such a good effect on the captives that he remarked that he would not part with him for any sum of money.[18]

The Moslems evinced great interest in Father Gracián and his religious activities, some buying oil for the sanctuary lamp, one bringing his sick granddaughter to be blessed, while a few went so far as to belabor blasphemous Christians.[19] Tolerance was shown by the captors in allowing the Christians to celebrate their many feast days. On these occasions the slaves provided their own music with mandolins and zithers, and the Moslems generously provided brocade and silk with which to adorn the altars. These celebrations seemed to have provided a welcome diversion in the daily life of the citizens of Tunis, which was otherwise quite drab. Christmas was an especially gay celebration, with dances, not only in the

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 462b-463a.

[16] *El trato de Argel, ed. cit.*, pp. 16-22.

[17] Gracián, *op. cit.*, pp. 460b-461a.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 461a.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 461a-b.

bagnio, but throughout the city, which caused Father Gracián to remark that in Tunis the birth of Christ was celebrated much more than the birthday of Mohammed.[20]

Another indication of tolerance was the fact that Father Gracián, when preaching at Mass, constantly spoke ill of Mohammed and his sect, and no effort was ever made to stifle his remarks. In fact, when one Moor informed the Pasha of the priest's remarks, the Pasha upbraided the informer and asked him whether he expected the Christians to speak well of Mohammed.[21]

Los baños de Argel corroborates the above account of the religious freedom enjoyed by the captives. In this play we learn that the Christians were allowed to hear Mass in secret, and that at Easter, which was celebrated with a Mass and a dramatic production, they were given a vacation lasting several days.[22]

One disturbing factor in the whole situation was the possibility that some of the Christians might renounce their faith. That this possibility was no small one is indicated by the great number of renegades who occupied positions of importance in the Infidel government, among them the Sardinian Ali Hamet, who led the attack on Gibraltar in 1540, the Sardinian Hassan Aga, who for a while was in command of Algiers, and Aluch Ali, a Calabrian, once Viceroy of Algiers, who took part in the battle of Lepanto. Cervantes, incidentally, was captured by a renegade.

In view of the terrible conditions which prevailed in the *bagnios*, the unceasing toil and privations, it is surprising that a larger number of prisoners did not renounce their faith, since they would no longer be forced to do slave labor and could wander about as they wished. Christians who showed an inclination to abjure were treated better than their unwavering companions,[23] but it seems that this had little if any effect on most of the adults. A more fertile soil for proselytizing was found among very young captives. Cervantes, for all his lack of ability as a dramatist, drives this point home vividly with the description of a youngster who has renounced his faith and tries to persuade his brother to do the same, using his fine clothes and good food as an enticement.[24] The writer continues with an impassioned exhortation to his countrymen, in which he reminds them of the danger which faces these boys in whom the faith is not yet deeply rooted, and asks them to give generously of alms for their ransom.[25] But at times crass materialism prevailed against

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 461a.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 274ff.

[23] Gracián, *op. cit.*, p. 459a.

[24] *El trato de Argel*, ed. cit., p. 61.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

the desire to gain a convert for Mohammed. Since renegade Christians were exempt from forced labor and could not be sold for ransom, many captives were not allowed to abjure.[26] Many became renegades for the sole purpose of ameliorating their physical condition, and still cherished the hope of returning some day to Christendom. But they were deterred from making a dash for freedom by the thought of the terrible punishment in store for them upon their arrival in a Christian country. As a precaution, many provided themselves with letters written by some captive of note testifying to their sincere repentance and desire to be received again into the bosom of the Church. Cervantes mentions this practice, and apparently wrote some of these letters himself.[27] Father Gracián also wrote many of them. Since this was an act punishable by burning at the stake, care was taken to have the renegade conceal the letters in the lining of leather pouches or under the large setting of rings which were commonly worn by the Moslems. At least four of these relapsed Christians reached Christendom safely and were absolved by the Inquisition on the strength of the priest's recommendation.[28]

The large number of Christian captives languishing in Moorish *bagnios*, the sorrow occasioned by their enforced absence, and the haunting fear that they might weaken and renounce their faith were matters of deep concern to their countrymen. It was imperative that the captives should be returned home at the earliest possible date, but before this could be done several difficulties had to be surmounted. Contact had to be established with a captive's owner and a sum for ransom agreed upon. This sum would then have to be raised by the relatives, often at great financial sacrifice, and delivered to the captor. Finally, there was the problem of transporting the released Christian to his home. It is clear that these problems were of such magnitude that individual effort could not cope with them. Only an efficient, well-trained, and charitable organization could hope to achieve satisfactory results, and it is not surprising to find that the Church assumed the burden. Every branch of the Church co-operated in raising funds with which to free the members of indigent families who would otherwise have been condemned to life-long servitude, but the manifold details and perils connected with the work were delegated to the Order of Mercy and to the Order of the Holy Trinity. The universal appreciation and praise of their efforts manifested in the literature of the period, even in the sceptical and frequently anti-clerical picaresque novel, indicates how well they accomplished their labors of mercy.

[26] Gracián, *op. cit.*, p. 464a.

[27] *Don Quijote, ed cit.*, p. 343; *Los baños de Argel, ed. cit.*, p. 217.

[28] Gracián, *op. cit.*, p. 464a-b.

The members of these Orders made frequent trips to North Africa to act as negotiators between the captors and the victims' families. They also were entrusted with the money raised for their release, and generally made arrangements for their transportation home. But these religious did not limit their actions to a mere mechanical performance of duty. Cervantes specifically mentions Fray Jorge de Olivar of the Order of Mercy, who arrived in Algiers with 20,000 ducats with which to ransom captives. After this sum had been expended, he pledged his own freedom for 7,000 ducats, which were applied to free other Christians held captive there while he remained as a prisoner until the amount of his pledge should be paid.[29] The novelist mentions another instance when a friar pledged his own liberty for 4,000 ducats so that others might go free, and indicates that this was not an isolated example.[30]

The amount of ransom asked for captives naturally varied according to their station in life. The captives, hoping to be released for a moderate sum, did not hesitate to disclaim any wealthy or important family connections. But in some cases circumstances converted poor and uninfluential individuals into persons of importance, resulting in the setting of a ransom which they could never hope to raise. One of these was Cervantes, who, while poor in worldly goods, was unfortunate enough to be in possession of very flattering letters of recommendation which led his captors to believe that he was a very high government official. His long captivity is explained by the inability of his family to provide the exorbitant sum demanded for his release. His freedom was finally bought by Fray Juan Gil for 500 gold crowns.[31] Father Gracián found himself in a similar predicament when it was rumored that he had important family connections. His ransom was first set at 30,000 crowns but he was eventually released on the payment of 1000 crowns.[32]

The ransom asked for the average prisoner was of course much smaller, representative sums being 40 crowns for an elderly priest,[33] 60 crowns for a layman,[34] 4,500 crowns for a group of nine priests,[35] and 280 ducats for

[29] *El trato de Argel*, ed. cit., p. 82.

[30] *La española inglesa*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, I, 147b.

[31] For the period 1609-42 the crown (*escudo*) had a value equivalent to $1.55 in United States currency. The ducat (*ducado*) for the same period was worth $1.76. Cf. the author's article, "Wages and the Cost of Living in the Picaresque Novel," *Hispania*, XXI (1938), 173-178.

[32] Gracián, *op. cit.*, pp. 462a, 468b.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 465b.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 467a.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 468a.

the captain of a boat.[36] These sums do not seem large, but when one considers the great number of Spaniards ransomed every year and the relatively high purchasing power of money during the Golden Age—one historian estimates it at ten times greater in 1525 than in 1925[37]—it is evident that the drain on Spain's resources must have been enormous. The Moors consistently demanded payment in gold or silver, not in depreciated vellon currency, and it is likely that we have here a reason for the exportation of sound currency from Spain overlooked by most authorities.

The details of returning the Christians to their homeland are given by the author of *Día y noche de Madrid*. With three hundred other redeemed captives he made the trip home on a boat flying the flag of the Order of Mercy. Immediately on landing all prostrated themselves and kissed the ground. They traveled in a group from the coast to Madrid where the religious publicly received them bearing a cross, tapers, and the flag of Mary of Mercy.[38] Another group, landed at Valencia, made a general procession of thanksgiving before departing for home, each wearing on his breast insignia of the Trinity as a sign that he had been ransomed by the alms of that Order.[39]

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[36] Francisco Santos, *Día y noche de Madrid*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XXXIII, 515b.

[37] Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, Vol. III, *The Emperor*, (New York, 1925), 32, n. 1.

[38] *Día y noche de Madrid*, ed. cit., pp. 377-78.

[39] *La española inglesa*, ed. cit., pp. 146-47.

II

The Case of the Pontifical Consul at New York in 1876

The Government of the United States has traditionally manifested a scrupulous respect for the acquired rights of all, even of those persons with whose general viewpoint the Government is not in full sympathy. Another indication of this habitual policy is afforded by a recent discovery in the files of the State Department, an exchange of correspondence between Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State in 1877, and the Italian Ambassador to the United States, Baron Blanc, with regard to the legal competence of the Papal Consul at New York.

For Catholics this correspondence is significant for another reason. It reveals once more a truth which may profitably be recalled at the present crisis, when, for the stimulating of our war effort, we seek all possible additional motives for love of country. The truth in question may be stated thus: The American principle of respect for rights has, whether consciously or inadvertently, operated repeatedly and consistently to the benefit of the Catholic Church and Catholic interests in America. This result of the practical working out of the American principle has been, moreover, in striking contrast to the treatment frequently meted out to the Church by the so-called Catholic States of Europe.

After the seizure of the city of Rome by the Italian Government in 1870, the new rulers of the peninsula evidently assumed that the Pontiff's status as a temporal ruler had been completely extinguished. This disability, they appear to have concluded, would apply to his temporal jurisdiction outside of as well as within Italy.

Rather paradoxically, this view of the allegedly Catholic State was not shared by the supposedly Protestant Government of the United States, as is evidenced by the Fish-Blanc correspondence appended below. It is unnecessary to say that Secretary Fish was motivated by no prepossessions in favor of the Pope or the Catholic religion. He was passing judgment on a specific case of consular jurisdictional competence, and deciding it solely on principles of American legal right. But, as has happened so often in the history of the Catholic Church in this country, the application of American principles brought protection and vindication to the Catholic interest.

In January, 1876 the Italian Ambassador at Washington informed Secretary Fish that "a wish to insure regularity in certain details of the Italian consular service at New York leads the Italian Consul General to desire to be informed whether the *exequatur* of the Pontifical ex-Consul at that city has been duly withdrawn [by the U. S. Government.]"[1]

[1] Baron Blanc to Secretary Hamilton Fish, Washington, Jan. 23, 1876. This whole correspondence is taken from: *Instructions from the Department of*

The reply of Mr. Fish to this communication is somewhat cool. He merely states the fact that "the *Exequatur* of the Pontifical ex-Consul at New York has not been formally withdrawn".[2]

Baron Blanc was apparently little pleased by the response, and politely but firmly returned to the charge. Still solicitous for the "regularity of the consular service of Italy in the United States", he reminds the American Government that this high interest

> does not permit the title or the functions which belong to our consular officers to be recognized as belonging to other agents than those appointed by my Government.[3]

He repeats, therefore, his request that the Secretary would be "pleased to cause the *Exequatur* to be regularly withdrawn from the Pontifical ex-Consul of New York".[4]

This time the Baron received a better reward. Mr. Fish stated briefly but adequately the American Government's reasons for not revoking the commission of the pontifical official:

> . . . I have to express my regret that I do not feel at liberty to comply with your request, especially for the reasons you assign. The functionary adverted to was appointed many years ago, long before the events which contracted to a narrow space the territory of his Sovereign. This Department believes that his official and personal conduct have always been praiseworthy. Though his functions are of merely nominal importance, it is understood that the Sovereign who bestowed his Commission has not relinquished the exercise of that right. Under these circumstances it is believed that the interests of Italy would not be materially advanced by the shock which the just sensibilities of the Pontifical Consul at New York, and his friends, must experience by the sudden withdrawal of the *Exequatur* of that officer.[5]

This solicitude, on the part of the American Government, for even the personal feelings of the papal official, as well as the careful respect for his legal rights, is all the more striking when compared with the attitude of the Italian Government towards the Church at this same period.

Two years previously (1874) another wholesale suppression of religious orders had occurred in Rome. Shortly afterward, more than thirty bishops had been expelled from their sees for their refusal to obtain the royal

State: George P. Marsh, [U. S. Minister to Italy], Vol. VI (Nov. 2, 1875–Nov. 26, 1877), The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[2] Fish to Blanc, Jan. 25, 1876.

[3] Blanc to Fish, June 4, 1876.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Fish to Blanc, June 24, 1876.

permission before exercising their episcopal jurisdiction. In the same year (1875) was abolished the exemption of clerics from service in the Italian armed forces. In contrast, the American Government refuses to treat lightly even a minor papal prerogative (for the consular office was, after all, no more than this) in a case where there actually did exist some doubt as to the validity of the prerogative.

The Baron, nothing daunted, now opened fire with his heaviest batteries. Taking advantage of what appears to have been an unconscious slip by the American Secretary in the latter's communication of January 25, the Ambassador quotes with approval Mr. Fish's reference to the papal officer as the "ex-consul" (The Secretary, in his next letter, ostentatiously substitutes the term "consul".) Baron Blanc reminds Mr. Fish that the American Government has been informed verbally since January 25 of the "reasons opposed to the possible recognition of Consular powers in an agent who holds his commission from a Power not exercising actual territorial sovereignty".[6] Also the Baron has "repeatedly addressed to Your Excellency by letter and in the usual forms, the ordinary demand for the recall of the exequatur".[7]

Such a revocation, the Baron assures Mr. Fish, would in no way affect the honor of the papal official, nor would it mean that he would be "deprived materially of the documents which recall, to his own personal satisfaction, and that of his friends, the remembrance of past services".[8] But, coming to the core of the matter, the Baron thinks it "inadmissible that Pontifical Consuls actually exist, having functions of an importance nominal or otherwise". And he bases his claim mainly, it would seem, on the fact that the "ancient territorial sovereignty from which they held their commissions has been reduced to the very narrowest limits". He remarks further that the question has been solved precisely in this sense by the very governments who entertain the most regular diplomatic relations with the Holy See.[9]

The Baron's argument in favor of the non-existence of the Pontifical Consul left Secretary Fish unimpressed. In the eyes of the American Government, with its reverence for all rights, even those of small and weak temporal sovereigns, the Papal Consul at New York was very much alive. In the final and longest communication of this significant series, the Secretary of State explains the American position in full:

> I duly received and have taken into mature consideration your note of the 5th instant . . . The result of my reflections is that it would be in-

[6] Blanc to Fish, July 5, 1876.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Blanc to Fish, July 5, 1876.

[9] *Ibid.*

expedient for this government to cancel the *exequatur* . . . for the reasons which you have assigned.

You remark that Mr. Binse [the Consul] does not hold his commission from the power which virtually exercises the ex-territorial [extra-territorial?] sovereignty. In this statement however it seems to me that you are not strictly correct. It is understood that the relations between Italy and the Vetican [*sic*] were defined by the Italian Parliament in its Act of the 13th of May, 1871. A copy of that Act was officially communicated to this Department with a note from your predecessor of the 7th of July, of that year. The Act is silent as to Consuls who may previously have been appointed by the Pope to reside abroad.

It seems to me that if the Italian Government had deemed such officers as derogating from its just sovereignty, it would then have declared their commissions void and would have forbidden the issuing of any others in future. The omission of such a provision seems to me to leave the authority of the Pope intact in regard to that subject.

This appears to be confirmed by the closing paragraph of the 11th article or section of the Act itself, which declares that the customary prerogatives and immunities pursuant to international law shall be assured throughout the territory of the Kingdom to the Representatives of His Holiness accredited to foreign governments when they are on their way to or returning from their missions.

This implicitly, at least, acknowledges the right of the Pope to accredit representatives abroad, and seems to expect that they will exercise that function. If, therefore, the Pope has the right to appoint Nuncios or diplomatic officers of other grades in foreign countries, it seems that he still has the right not only to appoint Consuls but to continue in office at his pleasure those who may heretofore have been appointed.[10]

Such were the reasons of the Department of State for retaining in office the pontifical consul at New York. But Secretary Fish, in the same communication, cannot refrain from reading the Italian Ambassador a polite lesson in international etiquette:

Supposing, therefore, his [the Pope's] sovereign right in this respect to be still entire, permit me to invite your attention to the unusual character of your application in this case. *Exequaturs* of Consuls of foreign countries are sometimes revoked for other causes of sufficient moment and justice, but I am not aware of an instance of such a revocation, upon the application of a foreign government. To yield to such an application would in my opinion be improper in itself, and would create a precedent which could not, in the long run, fail to be signally inconvenient to both Italy and the United States.[11]

[10] Fish to Blanc, July 18, 1876.

[11] *Ibid.*

Ultimately, of course, the safety and prosperity of the Catholic Church in the United States did not depend on the retention or non-retention of the papal consul at New York. Regarded from a broader viewpoint the issue was really very small,—a mere diplomatic question of decidedly limited implications. But the handling of the question by the American Government was typical and symptomatic. The State Department's stand in the matter was in the same general tradition as that of Congress, which, with equal justice, was granting charters to Catholic colleges, and safeguarding the rights of Catholics to worship unhindered in their churches, and sedulously refraining from all interference with the ecclesiastical activities of Catholic bishops and clergy. The State Department was following the same general line as the Court of Appeals of Kentucky which, in 1873, in a libel case brought by an excommunicated parishioner against his pastor, declared that ". . . no tribunal on earth is able to examine the acts of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction".[12]

The State Department was, in brief, applying to a specific case of no great moment an American principle of tremendous moment which, in more weighty cases, has, time and again, redounded to the benefit of the Catholic Church. This principle is that of a real, sincere, and effective respect for the rights of religion. And it can be our legitimate boast that in no other nation, ancient or modern, has the principle been so consistently observed by those in power.

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[12] Quoted in *Civiltà Cattolica*, Ser. IX, IX (1876), 283.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Archaeology and the Religion of Israel. The Ayer Lectures of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, 1941. By WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 238. $2.25.)

Once again Professor Albright presents fresh data and new sidelights from his rapidly expanding field, and enriches them by his own breadth of knowledge and keenness of discernment, producing a study which every student of antiquity will welcome and find stimulating. The scope of this survey is much narrower than that of the same author's *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVII, 80-81). It scans the archaeological record for new light on the social and economic background for religious institutions in Israel; and it adduces evidence of a comparative nature for similarities and contrasts between the worship of Yahweh in Israel and the pagan rites, institutions, and customs of the ancient Near Eastern world.

The second chapter indicates the variety and extent of the material now available to us apart from the Bible for a knowledge of Israelite religion and its background. The third sketches the Canaanite worship which the religion of Israel supplanted and fought against in Palestine—in an outline which depends primarily on literary material from Ugarit in Syria, unknown before 1929 and nowhere else so suitably synthesized. The two following chapters portray the religious situation and institutions in Israel itself from the conquest of Palestine to the period of Nehemias and Esdras, as witnessed to by the archaeological data.

The opening chapter is by far the least felicitous in the volume. It proffers again the concept of history which links its scientific standing with what are called "judgments of typical occurrence." This approach is a very natural one for the philologist in dealing with the structure of language, or for the archaeologist in classifying the material remains of a culture. As either the exclusive or the preferred approach to historical data, however, it strips history of the power to deal in adequate fashion with the individual human personality or with ultimate values in human conduct. History deprived of the backing of an adequate metaphysics or theology—in fact, both—gains for itself an autonomy of a sort on the level of arithmetical exercises, in which the typical occurrence takes the place of the final cause (teleology) or of right and wrong, for that matter.

The historian in consequence renounces altogether his responsibility to relate the past experience of mankind to the human issues in a real world—the only function of his science which makes it worth the having. No clearer indication of this state of things could be asked than that the author of the present volume should indicate a willingness to submit the most significant episodes of antiquity to the poverty-stricken techniques and the obscurantist jargon of the experimental psychologist turned amateur philosopher; or that he should think it well to classify objective data according to the faculties of the human mind to which they did, or do, appeal—as arbitrary and inadequate a sorting as would be the classing of stars according to the kind of telescope used to observe them. For this reason, when it is recalled that the volume is the outgrowth of a lecture series, one cannot but wonder what effect that is "religiously constructive" or will "help in the building of Christian faith" such a lecture as this first one could have; this despite the truly profound learning and unswerving sincerity of its author.

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The History of History. Volume I. Revised Edition of an *Introduction to the History of History*. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 407. $3.75.)

The present work, as indicated in the title, is intended to replace the author's well known *Introduction to the History of History*. An examination of the two books reveals that the principal changes are the following: the chapter on the interpretation of history is now near the beginning instead of at the end, a chapter on St. Augustine is added, some revision has been made in the text and notes—chiefly by Professor Swain of the University of Illinois—a systematic bibliography is appended at the end of the text, and four full page illustrations are scattered through the book.

In the main, then, we have the old book before us, and accordingly the change of title from the rather modest *Introduction to the History of History* to the pretentious *History of History* is hardly justified. A work with such a title should be reasonably comprehensive, and this it certainly is not. In the chapter on oriental records, nothing is said of the important annals of the Hittites; the treatment of the Greek historians of the Alexandrian and Roman periods, with the exception of Polybius, has many gaps as well as being quite superficial; the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, which Mommsen characterizes as the queen of Latin inscriptions, is not even mentioned; not a word is said of Roman history writing in the period from Livy to Tacitus; no attempt is made to deal with the *Historia Augusta* in the light of recent research.

It must be stated frankly that the work is aggressively rationalistic in tone. The following passages will serve to illustrate the author's point of view: "But the work of Voltaire and his school in disrupting the old authority of Church and Bible—bitterly denounced and blackly maligned as it has been—is now recognized by all thinking minds, at least by all leaders of thought, to have been an essential service in the emancipation of the human intellect". . . (p. 26); "The authority of a revealed religion sanctioned but one scheme of history through the vast and intricate evolution of the antique world. A well-nigh insurmountable obstacle was erected to a scientific inquiry—one at least which has taken almost nineteen centuries to surmount" (p. 33). These and too many similar pronouncements smack of the old-fashioned rationalistic preoccupation with the warfare between science and theology.

Professor Shotwell writes in a very attractive way and with such an air of conviction that the unwary reader, particularly one not a specialist in ancient history, is tremendously impressed. Therefore the reviewer considers it his unpleasant duty to state that the present book, like its predecessor, is really superficial and incomplete. Many chapters make interesting reading as individual essays, but the work as a whole is not an adequate treatment of the history of history for antiquity. It would be of little use here to furnish a long list of detailed criticisms of statements in the text and in the footnotes, or to discuss some serious weaknesses on the bibliographical side. There is, however, one bad slip which must be mentioned. In speaking of St. Jerome's translation of the Bible, the author says: "It is not until our own time that the Holy See has ventured to bring out a revision, and, in spite of the competence of the commission in charge, drawn from many lands, the text has taken shape but slowly and is just beginning to appear; that of Jerome still is read in the churches" (pp. 374-375). The text of the Latin Bible in course of publication under Vatican auspices is *not* a revision of Jerome's Vulgate, but is actually a critical edition of Jerome's Vulgate in which every effort is being made to restore the text to the form in which Jerome left it!

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

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Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours. Published under the direction of Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin. Vol. IV, *De la mort de Théodose à l'élection de Grégoire le Grand*, by P. DE LABRIOLLE, G. BARDY, LOUIS BRÉHIER, G. DE PLINVAL. Vol. V, *Grégoire le Grand, les Etats barbares, et la conquête arabe (590-757)*, by LOUIS BRÉHIER and RENÉ AIGRAIN. Vol. VI, *L'époque carolingienne*, by EMILE AMANN. (Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1937, 1938. Vol. IV, pp. 612; Vol. V, pp. 576; Vol. VI, pp. 511.)

In his account of the first three volumes of the *Histoire de l'Eglise* (*Catholic Historical Review,* XXIII, 477-480) the present reviewer indicated in some detail the general scope and character of the work. Therefore he passes immediately here to a brief discussion of the new volumes which have subsequently been published.

Volume IV, covering the two hundred years from the death of Theodosius to the election of Gregory the Great, is divided into three main parts: I, from the death of Theodosius to the Council of Chalcedon (395-451); II, from the Council of Chalcedon to the accession of Justin I (451-518); III, from the accession of Justin I to the election of Gregory the Great (518-590). De Labriolle and De Plinval deal with the West, while Bardy—apart from two chapters on the Papacy—and Bréhier divide the East between them. The reviewer would call particular attention to De Labriolle's chapters on Jerome and Augustine (pp. 31-78) and on Christian life and culture in the West (pp. 559-596), to Bardy's chapters on the beginnings of Nestorianism and on the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon (pp. 163-240), and to Bréhier's two chapters on the religious policy of Justinian (pp. 437-482). De Plinval contributes only two chapters to the present volume, but the first of these chapters, a treatment of the Pelagian struggles, is an outstanding performance. All contributors are as well versed in the political and cultural history of the late Empire as they are in the history of the Church proper. They have thus been able to give us a well-balanced, comprehensive, and authoritative presentation of the life and work of the Church during those two momentous centuries which mark the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages.

Volume V covers the century and a half from the accession of Gregory the Great to the death of Pope Stephen II (590-757). Bréhier again deals with the East, while his new collaborator, René Aigrain, is responsible for the West. The source materials available for most of this period, especially for the West, are so unsatisfactory that its history cannot be written with the same fullness and sureness as that of the preceding epoch. The two authors, however, have dealt admirably with their difficult material and have written as clear and accurate a history of the Church in this period as could reasonably be expected. Among the sixteen chapters contained in the volume, the reviewer would single out those of Bréhier on the relations between Rome and Constantinople, on the work of Heraclius, on the internal religious crisis and the rise of Islam (pp. 55-130), on the quarrel over images (pp. 431-470), and that of Aigrain on the Frankish Church under the Merovingians (pp. 329-390). One closes this book with a new understanding of the terrible internal political and religious crises which all but destroyed the Eastern Empire in a period when all its energies should have been united and strengthened to meet the lightning-like advance of the fanatical armies of Islam, and with a better appreciation also of the reasons which prompted the Papacy finally to turn from

the Empire and, however reluctantly, to seek aid from a new barbarian power beyond the Alps.

Volume VI covers the one hundred and fifty years from the accession of Pope Paul I to the death of Pope John VIII (757-882), and is unique among the volumes of the *Histoire de L'Eglise* so far published in that it is written in its entirety by one scholar, Emile Amann, the present editor of the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*. After a short but pithy Introduction, in which the main features of the history of the period covered are emphasized, Professor Amann presents the life and work of the Church during this age in a series of sixteen chapters. The volume is primarily concerned with the Church and the Frankish Empire, but adequate attention is given to the iconoclastic quarrel, which continued in the East and had its repercussions in the West, to Photius, who, on the basis of the most recent research, now appears in a somewhat more favorable light, and to the new missionary activity in East and West. The chapter on the revival of canon law contains an excellent treatment of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. It is warmly recommended as necessary reading to certain authors of recently published college texts in the field of mediaeval history who still persist in holding and spreading antiquated and in part erroneous views on these Decretals. Throughout his book, Professor Amann reveals a constant awareness of the dangers as well as the benefits of the Frankish alliance for the Papacy. Charlemagne's tendency towards Caesaro-papism is clearly indicated, although of course the truly great work accomplished for the Church by Charlemagne is rightly emphasized. It is to be regretted that the author did not devote a whole chapter to Christian society in the West during the epoch covered in this volume. Such a chapter would help the reader to understand even more clearly the tremendous task which the christianizing of Western Europe imposed upon the Church and why this process was necessarily centuries long in accomplishment.

The following minor criticisms are offered. As in the case of the first three volumes, the bibliographies given at the beginning of each volume, and also those furnished in connection with individual chapters, contain a few surprising omissions, especially of English works, and in general are somewhat carelessly presented. This creates a bad impression which is only gradually dispelled as one gets thoroughly acquainted with the main text. There are too many misprints, some of them serious. This condition should be remedied in a second edition. There are very few maps, and those furnished are hardly satisfactory for a work of this kind. Lastly, the volumes have fairly detailed *Tables de matières*, but no indices. In the original plan, a volume of indices covering the whole work is provided for, but it is very unfortunate, now that the war has interrupted publication, that each volume has not been furnished with its own index.

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The Christian Approach to the Moslem. A Historical Study. By JAMES THAYER ADDISON. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 365. $3.75.)

To treat with any degree of adequacy the subject proposed in the title of this study, would require a work of many volumes. The author, however, makes no claim to completeness but aims rather to survey what has seemed to him most significant and interesting in the vast field of Christian-Islamic contacts during the past thirteen centuries. Roman Catholic work since 1800 is not touched.

The book opens with a preliminary sketch of approximately seventy pages covering relations between Christianity and Islam from the seventh to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Included in this sketch is an eight-page bibliography of Ramon Lull together with a ten-page comment on the work of the Society of Jesus at the Mughal Court from 1580 to the middle of the eighteenth century. The body of the book is devoted to a summary of Protestant missionary contacts with Moslems in eight typical countries from the beginning of the nineteenth century until 1939. Such contacts seem often to have degenerated into attempts to protestantize Oriental Christians. In the last forty pages, the author summarizes Protestant missionary policies and methods in presenting Christianity to the Moslem and in caring for the convert from Islamism. A series of appendices sums up in ten pages, largely devoted to statistics, Protestant missionary work in countries not treated in the body of the book. The nineteen-page bibliography is composed almost exclusively, in accordance with the purpose of the book, of Protestant missionary publications.

Though intended as an historical sketch, the emphasis of this study is admittedly not academic. Its purpose is practical in that it seeks to arouse zeal and enthusiasm for the apostolate among the Moslem. Hence the reader will not be too exigent in demanding the impartiality that is postulated in scientific history. In its prejudices against such things as logic, metaphysics, and dogmatic belief in religion as opposed to internal experience, and in its occasional disparagement of Catholicism, the book bears a distinctively old-school-Protestant stamp. This impression is confirmed, to give but one example, by the quotation of a source which implies that Oriental Christianity in Syria at the beginning of the twentieth century was idolatrous (p. 123 f.). The expressions "revive" and "reawaken", used constantly to denote the effect of Protestantism on Oriental Christianity, sound incongruous. Moreover the frequent use, apparently in different senses, of the word "church" often leaves the reader to guess which of the Protestant churches the author wishes to indicate. Despite such minor defects, the book is worthwhile and may be usefully read as a sketch of methods used by Christian missionaries in approaching an apos-

tolate, always difficult, but offering today greater hopes than ever before. If it does nothing more than dispel the ancient delusion that the Moslem is unconvertible, it will have sufficiently fulfilled its high purpose.

EDWARD A. RYAN

Woodstock College

The Reformation in England. Edward VI, 1547-1553. By GUSTAVE CONSTANT. Translated by E. I. Watkin. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. ix, 349. $4.00.)

This is the second of a series of books on the religious revolt in England which the Abbé Constant is writing. The first volume carried the story through the reign of Henry VIII. That presentation was hailed by the authorities as unparalleled in its scholarship and erudition. No doubt, critics of this important period will say that the author has in no sense fallen from grace. So true is this that we sincerely hope and pray that the writer will be given the time, health, and circumstances to finish the series and to give us accounts of the development of the story through the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth.

A comparison of the French and English editions reveals the former as the better of the two. There is a valuable preface in the French edition by E. Jordan which has been omitted in the English translation. Again, in the French edition, there is to be found an excellent treatise comparing the dogmas under Edward VI and those under Elizabeth which has been entirely expunged from the English edition. This is unfortunate. This omission is so serious that students should not fail to consult the French rather than the English edition. A third item of difference is that "less important notes" are omitted in the English. Constant thought they were important enough to have in his work: why take the liberty of omitting them in the English? The French has a few photographs which have been left out in the translation. Only one advantage is to be derived in having the English and that is that it has a much better index. The original is merely a "name" index. The English has included an index of names and contents.

The reign of Edward VI in a sense is the most important part of the English religious break since it represents the turning point in the story. Henry VIII pretended to remain faithful to the dogmas of the Church. He thought he could divorce himself from Rome without separating himself from her dogmas. He failed to see that it was very difficult to do one without doing the other. Henry was hostile to the reforming element but nevertheless he was not able to seal his kingdom hermetically from their infiltration. Nevertheless, it can be said that at the death of Henry VIII England was not definitely lost to the Church. A return was still possible.

It remained for Edward VI, rather for those who guided him, to accomplish the fatal step and to make a return practically impossible. The gulf was too deep and wide for Mary to bridge when she attempted a reconciliation.

We have in this work two very fine portraits of Somerset and Warwick. Somerset was prudent, moderate, and tolerant, gravitating towards the new camp without appearing to do so. He chloroformed the opposition in such a way as to prompt a distinguished churchman to say that "England was robbed of its Catholicity by surprise." Warwick was more violent in his measures and therefore much more decisive in his influence on the whole period. Warwick succeeded in frustrating the work of the Henricians who were working for a realignment. There must be no turning back. England must divorce herself completely from Rome, not only from her administrative life but from her dogmas as well. Constant has an excellent chapter on the illogical position of these Henricians. Curiously they failed to see that if Henry or any other king of England were at the same time the head of the Church, how could they resist him?

There is an excellent diagnosis by Constant of the influence of the contemporary religions on Anglicanism, i. e., Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Zwinglianism. Cranmer endeavored to make the new religion of England a fusion between these various elements. An impossible task, says Constant, but one nevertheless which has left its traces on Anglicanism.

This magnificent contribution of Abbé Constant is graced by a splendid critical bibliography, much better than that to be found in Conyers Read, *Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period*. There is a worthwhile series of Appendices, one of which is devoted to Anglican Orders.

EDWARD V. CARDINAL

Loyola University
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The History of the Popes. By LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR. Translated by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. Vols. XXXIII-XXXIV. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1941. Pp. xxxv, 554; xiii, 596. $5.00 per volume.)

There is little that is heroic, colorful or more than vaguely interesting in the period covered by these volumes. If the story seems a bit drab, that is not the fault of the author. Like the good historian that he was, he gave the facts as they appeared to him in the mass of records, manuscript and printed. And yet, for several reasons these books are worth their price. They carry on the monumental history, which is nearing its completion; they show us the Church and the Papacy in a drooping, depressed state, thus lending variety to the great papal epic; they reveal the internal maladies which brought about the low vitality of the spiritual power during the Age of Reason.

The general reader who is bewildered by the sorry plight of the Church at the time of the Revolution or the scholar who wonders at the diseased brilliance of the middle decades of the eighteenth century will here find a nearly adequate explanation of the rise of anti-clerical, anti-papal forces which would have wrecked any but a divine institution. Jansenism, like a recurrent fever running through the Church in France; bad Catholics, under the cloak of Jansenism, attacking the doctrinal authority of the Holy Father; the Gallican spirit of independence in the *Parlements* and among the bishops of France; dissension in the foreign missions, with its sad consequences for souls; excessive, though perhaps unavoidable, preoccupation with Italian politics on the part of the papal Curia—these are some of the more obvious reasons why the Church entered the era of the Enlightenment more like a victim ready for the slaughter than the armed champion of truth and right. If one is not prepared to see how easy it was for men to turn to naturalism, rationalism, and deism, at least it is not difficult to account for the steady advance of irreligion against a helpless Church.

Four popes fill out this period of forty years. All of them were good men; none of them could be called great. Placed in close contrast with their genial successor, Benedict XIV, their diminished importance is painfully apparent. The troubled times demanded a radical reform. But neither in the head of the Church nor in the ranks below, where the Holy Ghost so often finds saintly leaders, was there anything like a strong manifestation of positive Catholic life.

Clement XI, whose pontificate dragged through slightly more than half of this forty-year period, had problems aplenty. The Bull *Unigenitus*, the controversy over the Chinese Rites and the Malabar Rites, the disasters and humiliation which clouded the decline of Louis XIV, the political aggression of Bourbon Spain and of the Habsburg Empire in Italy—each of these topics would have provided Pastor with material for indefinite padding. Fortunately, he resisted the temptation, and his rather jejune treatment, especially of the thorny question that was tearing the Chinese mission to shreds, combines brevity with objectivity. It is precisely sections like this that give to the *History of the Popes* its high value as a work of reference. The pontificates of Innocent XIII, Benedict XIII, and Clement XII merely continue the uninspiring round of trials and worries that reduced Clement XI to a policy of passive defense.

As usual Pastor devotes considerable space to the conclaves which elected each successive pope. The reader who finds this detailed account of ecclesiastical politics monotonous can, of course, skip the chapter and hasten on to more significant historical events. But even a brief glance will convince him that a major malady of the time was the meddling of the "Catholic" powers in papal affairs. Rarely did they object to piety or

goodness; what they feared and generally prevented was the election of a strong pope. As usual also, Pastor tells in some detail what each of his popes did to beautify or improve the city of Rome.

During this period the clouds were ominously gathering about the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits are on the defensive and their enemies are many and powerful. It is this fact which leads the German editor of Pastor to devote most of his Appendix to documents vindicating them. The reader is most likely aware that Pastor planned his work to end with Pius VI, roughly in the year 1800. The German edition concludes with Volume XVI. This volume, however, is in three parts and may bring the English version to a total of forty volumes. We venture to suggest to the publisher that the volumes should not be any smaller if the present purchase price is to be maintained. It remains only to congratulate the translator, Dom Ernest Graf, who has been somewhat more careful, we think, in preparing these volumes than in some of his earlier work.

RAYMOND CORRIGAN

Saint Louis University

Cardinal Consalvi and Anglo-Papal Relations, 1814-1824. By JOHN TRACY ELLIS, Assistant Professor of History in the Catholic University of America. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 202. $2.50.)

This book will be read with interest by students of British and European history in the early years of the nineteenth century. Its subject, Cardinal Consalvi, papal secretary of state during the pontificate of Pope Pius VII, was one of the most distinguished statesmen who have served the Papacy in modern times; and his work has received from English-speaking scholars less attention than it deserves. He is remembered chiefly for his part in the negotiations which issued in the Concordat of 1801; but his name will be recalled by some readers as that of a quiet and inconspicuous figure among the company of rulers and statesmen who visited England in 1814 to partake of the somewhat garish hospitality of the Prince Regent. That visit forms the starting point of Father Ellis' detailed and scholarly study. It was not Consalvi's first contact with representatives of the British government but it was then that he formed that close assocciation with Viscount Castlereagh which lasted during the lives of the two men and which led to some notable results.

Consalvi's first task was to secure the restitution of the Papal States in the settlement which followed the collapse of the Napoleonic empire. It is probable that in any circumstances most of this territory would have been restored to the pope. The British government had made such a restoration part of its plan of settlement even before the cardinal visited

London; and it was hardly possible to apply the principle of legitimism in Spain, France, and Sardinia while denying its applicability in the case of the most ancient monarchy in Europe. Nonetheless, there were serious difficulties. The Papal States, or parts of them, were coveted by the rulers of Austria and Sardinia, and by the Napoleonic adventurer, Murat, who had been retained as King of Naples in 1814; and one of these could be relied upon to adhere to any principle if it served his interests to depart from it. Consalvi was aided by circumstances, in particular by the defeat and deposition of Murat in 1815; but the almost complete success which he achieved was due in the main to his own diplomatic ability, and to the unwavering support given him by Lord Castlereagh. To both men Father Ellis does substantial justice; and his account of these negotiations, supplemented by many extracts from Consalvi's dispatches, throws new light on this settlement and on certain other matters disposed of at the Congress of Vienna.

In the other great project which he undertook during these years, the settlement of the Catholic question in Great Britain and the negotiation of a concordat with the British government, Consalvi was less successful; and the reason is not far to seek. On almost every important point in this long and bitter controversy his judgment was clearly at fault. He assumed, although there was abundant evidence to the contrary, that Castlereagh's seemingly favorable disposition towards the Catholics was shared by his fellow ministers. He misjudged the motives which prompted Castlereagh to propose that the British government should undertake the payment of salaries or pensions to the Irish clergy. He believed, and he persuaded the authorities in Rome to believe, that the British government was prepared to grant complete emancipation to its Catholic subjects in return for a few formal and unimportant concessions, such as those approved in the famous Quarantotti Rescript. Above all, he entirely failed to understand the character of the opposition in Ireland to any such arrangement with the British government. He attributed that resistance to the political intrigues of a few " Catholic Irish lords ", although it was public knowledge that the only support in Ireland for the plan of giving the crown a veto on episcopal appointments, and for bringing the Catholic clergy into the pay of the British government, came from Lord Fingal and the aristocratic wing of the Catholic party. It was at Lord Fingal's personal instigation that the plan of a veto was first laid before the British parliament by Grattan and Ponsonby in 1808, and in all latter discussions of the project he and his followers were its most enthusiastic supporters. All that was well known. It had been the subject of public discussion for years before Consalvi visited England, and it is difficult to understand how a statesman of his experience could so entirely have misjudged the situation. His confidence in Castlereagh is the probable explanation, an explanation, it may be added, which does more credit to his charity than to his prescience.

In his account of these transactions Father Ellis does not allow his own opinions to obtrude; but one is occasionally left in doubt whether he does not in fact accept many of Consalvi's conclusions. His suggestion, for example, that Consalvi's failure was due in part to the revival of anti-papal feeling in England after 1815 seems unnecessary and of doubtful accuracy. There surely was no such revival, for the good reason that there had been no decline of such a feeling during the war. These chapters contain material of great value for an understanding of this complex problem; but the definitive account can be written only against a much fuller background of Anglo-Irish history. It is to be hoped that the return of peace will enable Father Ellis to explore the sources at present closed to him, and to expand the work so well begun in this volume. There are a few minor inaccuracies. Lord Liverpool was not a duke, as is here stated, and the name of Bishop Roynter's coadjutor is incorrectly given.

DONALD J. MCDOUGALL

University of Toronto

From Cabin-Boy to Archbishop: The Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne. Edited with an Introduction by Shane Leslie. (London: Burns Oates & Washburne, Ltd. 1941. Pp. xxvi, 310. 15s.)

The editor of this volume has rendered a real service to scholarship. Formerly there was available a revised edition of a revised edition; even this was out of print. Moreover it had been worked over so much from the point of view of edification that Abbot Butler, when writing his life of the archbishop, fell back on the original draft. This had been made by Ullathorne when he was an old man. He had let his pen run on, putting down on paper the flood of memories of a vigorous and devoted life. The style, as might be expected, lacks finish. But it is the better for that: it savors throughout of a personality sincere and intact, so vivid and many-sided that the pale cast of thought would only have diminished the fragrance that now comes so poignantly from those far-off places and distant days.

As a source this volume is of high value. It illuminates not only the Church history, but the history of the nineteenth century. The convict system of the Empire in the thirties, the colonial life in days of scanty population and six months' voyages, the habits of seamen both before the mast and at the captain's table, the occupations of travellers in the days before the liners—all these departments of investigation would yield many a valuable find to the social historian. It will be a long day before he will take down from the racks any document freer from the dust of pedantry or fuller of the very life and brightness of a century past.

We all remember (how could we forget?) Newman's story of the time when his father took him to the door of a Catholic church in London and when, peeping into that mysterious place, he saw boys swinging censers. It was his only glimpse of Catholicism until he was a man and it stayed with him until he wrote his *Apologia*: his boyhood glimpse of the *Gens lucifuga*. Ullathorne gives us pictures of that same people at that same time. Only Ullathorne's pictures are from within: what it was to be a Catholic, a member of a group so small that people had forgotten to persecute it. He grew old enough to go away to sea without ever having very much instruction in his faith. His people, who were good Catholics in proportion to their opportunities, had not found the chance of having him make his first communion. "As to Confirmation, no one of us children had ever seen a Bishop" (p. 11). With so little he yet had so much that he cruised the seas for several years with the unshaken consciousness of being a Catholic. "The Spaniards who came on board used to take to me as being a Catholic, which I was rather fond of letting them know" (p. 13). And a *Garden of the Soul* was at the bottom of his sea-chest to be taken out on the fateful day when he went with the mate to mass at Memel. There he had that remarkable experience of "conversion" which takes place with such an almost casual frequency in religious history.

No sooner back than he went to Downside. How extraordinarily different Catholic life was in those days comes out on page after page. Perhaps the following calendar will tell the reader, as much as any other item, what he may expect to find. He made his first communion at Downside in 1823, his profession as a novice in 1825, received confirmation in 1828 (after eight or ten months of theology) and was ordained in 1830.

The succeeding pages are all nearly as golden with the mist of strangeness as the Arabian nights: sunsets in the Baltic; the sea-library of a young missionary going out to be vicar apostolic of nearly half the globe; the social protocol, improvised for the voyage, of what sailors were to do about the presence of nuns on board the ship; a careless Catholic subjected to a vigorous and successful apostolic talk on a yard-arm in the South Seas; the eccentricities of the lonely missionaries; the encounter in Australia with a Father McEncroe from Charleston "of South Carolina"; the convicts' *morituri salutamus* as they went to death with their beloved priest; the conversations with non-Catholics in those almost fabulous conditions when society was heretical and not infidel.

Of all the strange things one of the strangest is the episode of Prior Park. This was the seminary of the Western District of England when Ullathorne became the last vicar apostolic. To read through church history is, among other things, to have become acquainted with many an oddity. The reviewer believes that from the time of the Stylites and West of Mount Athos there were never greater oddities, and seldom such

great ones, as the collection of gentlemen in the Italianate villa near Bath who undertook to prepare young men for the ministry. The concept of the relation of rector to faculty and of both to the ordinary, the rubrical customs in regard to the custody of the *Sanctissimum*, the statues of Hercules that must not be taken down and of the Blessed Virgin that need not be put up! If ever men, respectable in personal behavior, were on the wrong track and far from the signals it was assuredly the precious faculty of Prior Park. Ecclesiastical discipline saves from more things than wickedness, and surely the canons deserve credit for eliminating *bizarrerie*.

The narrative is straightforward and unafraid. There is no scandal told, although the book abounds in brusque pictures of controversies and in positive opinions about them. But through all there gleams the face of a truly great and apostolic man. Ullathorne in the Ward books sometimes seemed a bit naive. This book of his own will correct that impression. Strong, intelligent (and also intellectual), experienced, judicious, patient, tender, brave—these are words that come to the mind of any one who reads this palimpsest of a very high and inspiring priestly character.

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT

Catholic University of America

Outlines of Russian Culture. Part I. *Religion and the Church*. By PAUL MILIUKOV. Edited by Michael Karpovich. Translated from the Russian by Valentine Ughet and Eleanor Davis. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 220. $2.75.)

The appearance in an English translation of this famous work by the veteran Russian statesman, politician, and historian is a welcome addition to the none-too-plentiful scholarly literature about Russia. At a time when Russia and things Russian loom important in the public eye and when publishers present sensational and often biased "quickies" to satisfy the demand, one should congratulate the University of Pennsylvania Press for offering to the scholar and general reader alike a study by a great liberal, though avowed anti-Bolshevik, leader.

A book on religion and the Church in Russia (brought up to date by the editor's postscript) is particularly timely when so many are asking themselves what part the Russian Church is playing in the present gigantic conflict. Often subdued, trampled upon, disorganized, and martyrized, the Russian Church has always survived because of the inherent religious spirit of the Russian people, who in the past have, particularly in times of stress, turned to its ministrations if not its leadership. Although lacking cohesion as an organization, especially if compared with the Roman Catholic Church, the Russian Church derived its strength precisely from its

amorphousness since the blows aimed at it spent themselves in a vacuum of non-resistance.

Starting with a brief description of the beginnings of Christianity in Russia and the process of transforming the Russian Church into a national institution, Professor Miliukov discusses at great length the development of Russian sectarianism, devoting to it almost half of the book. Although Russian sectarianism as an expression of unbridled individualism of the Russian people has been given too little attention in the past, this reviewer cannot agree with the importance in which the author attempts to cloak it, particularly since, in the concluding chapter on the Russian Church under the Soviet regime (which in itself is a masterpiece of restrained scholarly treatment of a very controversial subject), he points to the success of the established, i. e., patriarchal, Church and the failure of sectarianism, partially supported by the Soviet government, in their struggle against anti-religious propaganda of the Bolsheviks. This contradiction may be explained by the fact that the author formed his ideas in the eighteen eighties when every young Russian liberal instinctively frowned on anything that had the stamp of officialdom. And since the established Church was controlled by the imperial government and the members of its hierarchy often displayed a servile submissiveness to the authorities, it was naturally branded by people such as Paul Miliukov as unworthy to shepherd the Russian people.

Notwithstanding its inherent weakness as an organization and the unworthiness of many of its hierarchs, the Russian Church weathered many storms successfully because it did not have to face the problems of the West. Professor Miliukov explains it as follows:

> To an Orthodox the universal element in the church consisted in its spiritual contents, the tenets of the seven Councils, whereas the church authority, as the provisional guardian of these contents, could assume the form of any national, local, or temporary organization.... Since it no longer occupied itself with religious creative work, the Eastern church was not in need of a legislative organ for that purpose or a supreme central authority such as the Western church required, because even failing a single power, as that of the Pope, it could rest assured that the unity of its doctrine would remain intact.... A national authority could never conflict with the universal doctrine of the Eastern church, because the national churches had no power to introduce changes into the universal doctrine, and the universal doctrine had not been invested with power.... Only current, purely executive work had to be done, and that could be attended to by any type of church institution (pp. 133-134).

This is the key to the understanding of how and why the Russian Church made peace with the Soviet government after having been its bitterest foe. Open persecution and disruption of the church organization

by leaving it without a head could not ruin the Church, which today works apolitically with the Bolsheviks for the good of the Russian people. Even subject to Soviet authority it is still a tremendous spiritual force gaining ground as the Russian people are subjected to still greater suffering resulting from the war.

In closing this reviewer would like to recommend this book to any one who wants to know something about religion in Russia as the best available in the English language although some of the statements seem a little too sweeping, as for example: "No ecclesiastic or member of his family was admitted into any other class . . . until 1869" (p. 124), and "Patriarch Tikhon's message of October 26, 1918 denouncing Bolshevism was undoubtedly not of his own composition" (p. 166). Concerning the first, one should not forget Speransky, the son of a village priest, who was closely associated as a statesman with Emperors Alexander I and Nicholas I and who was made a count by the latter. As to the second, there is still considerable controversy among Russian historians as to the authorship of that famous document. Finally a word of praise should be said for the translators and especially for the editor, Professor Michael Karpovich of Harvard University, who let pass only a minor slip to the effect that the South Slavonic sovereigns assumed the title of tsar "only in the fifteenth century" (p. 18 fn.), whereas we have actual proof that it was used by Dushan of Serbia early in the fourteenth century and indirect proof of its usage by the Bulgarian Simeon in the tenth century.

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

L'Hôtel-Dieu premier Hôpital de Montréal 1642-1763. (Montréal: Therien Frères. 1942. Pp. 420. $2.50.)

This volume bears no author's name, but the Preface by Monsignor Olivier Maurault, Rector of the Université de Montréal, reveals that the author is Soeur Mondoux, archivist of the Hôtel-Dieu, "the worthy successor" of the first annalist of the Hôtel-Dieu, Soeur Morin (1649-1730), the first Canadian writer born in Canada. Marie Morin born at Quebec entered the novitiate of the Hospitalières Sisters of St. Joseph of Montreal in 1662 at the age of thirteen, that is three years after their establishment in 1659. This girl consequently knew personally Jeanne Mance, the lay administratrix who had come from France to found in 1642 the first Hôtel-Dieu at Ville-Marie (as old Montréal was officially known from 1642 to 1705). She lived daily with the first religious who had come from La Flèche in Anjou at the call of Jeanne Mance and under the preparation of Jérôme Le Royer de la Dauversière who had conceived the project

of a Christian settlement on the Island of Montreal, a hospital or Hôtel-Dieu, and in due time a religious sisterhood which should direct it.

Soeur Morin wrote her *Annales* until her death in 1730. Sister Mondoux has for the present carried the story of the Hôtel-Dieu down to 1763, that is, to the end of the French regime in 1760 with the three years of the provisional government of the British from 1760-1763. It is to be hoped that a second volume will follow. But it must not be supposed that this volume is just a reprint of the famous *Annales*. Far from it. It has all the authority of the *Annales*, but with verifications and emendations and with the addition of many hitherto unedited MSS and of the use of the archives of her Institute at Montreal; with recourse to the *Annales* of the sister Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec from 1636-1716, to the archives of the Seminaries of St. Sulpice of Paris and of Montreal, to the archives of the parent Hôtel-Dieu of the Religieuses de St. Joseph at La Flèche in France, and to the public archives of Paris, etc. The author has sought her materials by personal contact in Paris and La Flèche, and has brought back numerous facsimiles of ancient deeds and manuscripts as also copies of historical engravings (many artistically colored), which profusely illustrate her book. In addition, there is no important work dealing with her subject in French or in English which the indefatigable author has not explored, as her bibliography reveals.

To the research student of the early beginnings of hospitals on this continent, the details of the struggles of the first hospital of Montreal, through poverty, fires, and epidemics, will be valuable for a study of the progress of medicine, of hospital methods, and of Christian charity in action. This book should be in every social service and hospital library.

The volume has a deeper significance than that of the history of a hospital, even though it is also a pioneer one on this continent. This story of the Hôtel-Dieu reflects the pioneer life of Montreal from 1642 through all its vicissitudes as an outpost forest settlement in New France. For the Hôtel-Dieu, first as the dispensary of Fort Ville-Marie, started life, lived, and grew with the city, that in 1942 commemorated its tercentary as a great metropolis of North America. The reader of this book is thus brought in close touch with the growth of Montreal and its pioneering citizens.

But further, this book gives a fascinating insight into the romantic preparations for the foundation in 1642 of Montreal, which date from February 2, 1630, and were made in La Flèche in Anjou by Jérôme Le Royer, Sieur de la Dauversière, a tax collector, who felt himself inspired to found the settlement of Ville-Marie and a Hôtel-Dieu to serve it in New France. It is particularly illuminating in the section devoted to the years, 1630-1642, the period preceding the actual foundation of Montreal in 1642. Moreover there are in the appendices, an avant-propos signed

by Sister Mondoux and an Introduction giving preliminary chapters, "Les Origines Françaises de L'Hôtel-Dieu", which give a colorful picture of the life of La Flèche, the parent city of Ville-Marie, the town of de la Dauversière (pp. 21-98; 313-396).

In these chapters are carefully unfolded in detail the conception of Ville-Marie and its colonization—the first steps, through the co-operation with de la Dauversière, of the Baron de Fancamp, and of the Abbé Jean Jacques Olier de Verneuil (the future founder of the Sulpicians of Paris and of Montreal),—a trio who started the famous Company of Notre Dame de Montréal, a religious body of clergy and layfolk which financed on a non-profit basis, the enterprise of Ville-Marie. Here too is told the marvelous vocations of Jeanne Mance to be its first lay nurse, of Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve, the first governor of Ville-Marie, and of the providential "unknown benefactress", Madame de Bullion, who became the fairy financial godmother of the Hôtel-Dieu.

To readers already acquainted with the romance of the events preceding the arrival of the colonists on May 17, 1642 at Ville-Marie, all this may seem somewhat superfluous, but that is not so, because new light, with dates verified or corrected, is here cast on materials which have hitherto been obscure, confusing, and incomplete in most previous writers, including even Faillon, Dollier de Casson, the *Jesuit Relations*, and others.

For students of colonial origins, pages 21-98 and 313-396 are a treasure trove to delve into. This book should be in the reference portion of every colonial history section of the libraries of this continent.

WILLIAM H. ATHERTON

Montréal, Canada

Religion in Colonial America. By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. xiii, 367. $3.00.)

Professor Sweet of the University of Chicago, author of over a dozen solid volumes in the history of various aspects of American Protestantism, inaugurates here a series of three volumes which are intended to treat the general theme of religion throughout our national history. The present work covers only the colonial era. While doubtless intended for a wide reading public, it contains all the desired features of the apparatus of scholarship, footnote citation to the sources, a fifteen page bibliography, and an adequate index.

Readers of this journal will doubtless be interested mainly in what the author has to say of Catholicism in colonial America. It must be said at the outset that he has precious little to say at all. Common sense would dictate that Catholics should hold a minor place in a general history of this kind, considering the fact that their numbers and influence in the

colonial period were never such as to constitute them one of the principal religious bodies in the days before the Revolution. However, it is hardly doing them justice to reduce their story to seventeen pages out of a total of 339. The whole of eighteenth century American Catholicism is dispensed with in three pages. The treatment accorded to the Catholics in this volume is written in a spirit of fairness, but we submit that it is inadequate to give a complete picture of the progress made by the Church under the adverse conditions obtaining before national independence.

Moreover, there are a number of points in which the reviewer finds himself in disagreement with Professor Sweet. Space permits only an indication of a few of these. For example, it is difficult to see how Anabaptism outranks Anglicanism as one of the "three leading movements of the Reformation" (p. 13). Neither can the reviewer agree that it was from the left-wing religious bodies that "all the great freedoms for which American democracy stands today" have taken their root (p. 18); particularly is this so when separation of Church and State is included, for there was never a tighter union of Church and State than the Puritan colonies of New England, regardless of what theories they might have taught and the fact that their ministers did not take formal political office. Lord Baltimore, to whom the author pays tribute for "attempting to establish toleration in Maryland on a broader basis than was to be found anywhere else in the world, except in Rhode Island" (p. 33), would find the present atmosphere of religious liberty in the United States much more congenial than would his contemporaries of the New England colonies. Again one finds an enthusiastic portrayal of the religious liberty practiced by Roger Williams, an enthusiasm which the reviewer cannot share. Professor Sweet's statement that "the Roman Catholic Church has never endorsed the broad principle of religious freedom; in fact the Catholic Church is committed by principle to intolerance" (p. 181), is, taking it in the sense quoted from Ryan-Millar, *The State and the Church* in the footnote, perfectly true, for what religious body feeling it has the truth can in conscience hold that error has the same right as truth? American colonial history is crammed with examples of churches which did not hold any such broad principle and which moreover made the opposite of that principle do very active duty. Why then should it be thought singular if the Catholic Church holds in principle against the right of error to flourish as well as truth? To do otherwise for a church is to admit the impossibility of establishing objective truth in the realm of religious dogma.

Another glaring omission is the complete absence of any treatment of the not inconsiderable number of German Catholics in eastern Pennsylvania in a chapter of over thirty pages devoted to the colonial Germans. No mention is made of the great progress made in religious development in the lands which came under Spain and France in parts of the continent

which were soon to be the United States. There could be no quarreling with this omission if the title of this book had read 'Religion in Colonial British America', but their entire absence is otherwise a serious one.

There are a considerable number of slips which have escaped the proof readers. Father Zwierlein's name is misspelled throughout the footnotes though given correctly in the bibliography; the first colonists sailed for Georgia in 1732, not 1632 (p. 42); Queen Anne died in 1714, not 1715 (p. 67); Story was converted to Quakerism in 1691, not 1791 (p. 157); James II publicly avowed his conversion to Catholicism in 1676, not 1669 (p. 179); one should read San Marino not San Marion in note 13, p. 197; Slaughter for Sloughter (p. 208); Salzburg for Salzberg (p. 238), Bellarmine for Mellarmine (p. 338, n. 22), and emphasis for emphases (p. 210).

In closing one might mention the absence of any reference to a number of other important monographs done on phases of the Catholic history of colonial America under the direction of Professor Guilday, a reading of which might have provided Professor Sweet with a somewhat more detailed knowledge of Catholic immigration, education, missionary activity, and church development than his pages would indicate he possesses.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

Catholic University of America

The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut. By CHARLES ROY KELLER. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 259. $3.00.)

In intellectual history, as in the other general interpretations of national history, the basic historiographical pattern becomes visible. The elementary surveys of American intellectual development having been contributed by such writers as Parrington, Gabriel, Curti, and Cargill, the monographic materials are now forthcoming to improve the hiatuses in the generalized treatments. It is no reflection upon Professor Keller's excellent contribution to mention that the general outlines of the American "Counter Reformation" were already known. The basic contribution, and definitely an essential contribution, of this study is the restriction of the movement to one of the two basic locales (and until a similar study for Massachusetts is completed, Connecticut appears to enjoy the palm for its originality and its embracing thoroughness) of the "New Spirit" of Protestantism. Limited in area, the study probes extensively into the motives, methods, and machinery of New England's second revival.

Briefly, the narrative can be summarized. As our new nation commenced, deistic infidelity and materialistic indifferentism, partly native and partly borrowed abroad, threatened our religious and intellectual horizons. Timothy Dwight, Yale University, and the "New Divinity men" rose to

the rescue, revitalized Calvinism and re-established churchgoing in New England. So far the movement might be considered a local phenomenon of importance to New England, and only of gradual national significance as New England migrated westward. "The New Divinity men", however, had reinterpreted Calvin, particularly by emphasizing "the ability, responsibility and freedom of man"; divine sovereignty or election were not now denied but ignored and the doctrine of works and service glorified. Social salvation and not mere individual salvation became the ideal and the energizing factor of humanitarianism was born. This new seed of theological intrepretation sprouted into the Protestant Missionary Crusade, with its Home Missionary Society and the American Board for Foreign Missions, into the Cornwall School, the Tract, Bible, and, Sunday School Societies, and into the famous humanitarian movement of the sabbatarian, temperance, peace, and anti-slavery reforms. Thus national movements of the nineteenth century were stimulated or originated by this local revival.

Each of these movements, in so far as it was leavened by the Awakening, has been developed in detail with an emphasis on the methods of organization, collection of funds, and, instruments for propagandizing their activities. The author has built his story on an extensive amount of contemporary materials: sermons, society records, personal memoirs, and correspondence, and, that unplumbed source of the era, the new religious periodicals. Professor Keller has done a splendid piece of work which will fill one gap in the intellectual and social history of the early nineteenth century. A reviewer might raise a question as to the treatment and the termination of the Plan of Union of 1801, and, to the absence of any discussion of frontier influences upon the new theological interpretation, but these points are minor items and they do not impugn the validity of the major thesis. There is a major question, however, in the need to evaluate the contribution of rationalistic infidelity to the humanitarian movement. Orthodoxy was not its sole source. Benevolent stirrings on behalf of the oppressed groups were felt by such unregenerated infidels as Paine and Jefferson. A topical bibliography and an extensive index fulfill the professional demands for scholarly productions and the format and typography of the book continues the excellent standards of the Yale Series and their University Press.

EDWARD P. LILLY

Catholic University of America

The Reed and the Rock. Portrait of Simon Bruté. By THEODORE MAYNARD. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1942. Pp. xi, 273. $2.75.)

Theodore Maynard in this life of the saintly Bishop Bruté enters a field where we have far too few popular studies. Because Bruté, Carroll, and England were prelates, historical writers have felt that they must be treated with a method as formal and as definite as the episcopal vestments. This book, however, is not a technical study but a personal observation on one of the most enigmatic figures in American Catholic history; and students of that history will welcome it, even though it does not comply with the canons of historical criticism.

The author depicts Bruté from his numerous notes and letters as an ejaculatory, incoherent spirit whose life, as well as his thought, was episodic. He finds little connection between the student and doctor and the priest and director or the missionary bishop. This incoherence he calls a kind of craziness without specifying that it was the folly of the saints. By laying aside some ecclesiastical etiquette, Mr. Maynard has penetrated beneath this incoherence of the priest and bishop to find a definite unity of purpose, but he has not really said what that purpose was.

He says that Bruté was not a Sulpician, but similar remarks can be made of any religious who enters a society later in life after some training for another profession. Bruté's piety, however, is characteristic of that group of priests and bishops who directed the nascent American Church from Baltimore in the first half of the nineteenth century. The fact that Maynard has to call him "intellectual" is proof that he was not chiefly interested in intellectual studies; like so many of our ecclesiastics, he loved books but did not become learned. If we use the term "spiritual" as distinguished from "intellectual", we have a better description of the man who lived most of his life in the vision of an "Eternity". In Mother Seton this man found a kindred soul who also overlooked the trifling difficulties of this life in anticipation of an eternity of happiness.

One may question, then, Mr. Maynard's emphasis upon the folly of his hero and, also, the reality of the change from the "Reed" to the "Rock". The change was merely one of locale. As a subject he simply did not push himself into temporal matters that were useless to him as a teacher and director of souls; but as a missionary bishop his mastery of temporal matters was only the same wisdom transferred to a practical field of endeavor. In setting the stage for his hero the author, as in his recent church history, shows a debatable consciousness of race and nationality, but he shows some better appreciation of frontier America. In his discussion of the controversies between St. Mary's Seminary and Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg and between Bishop John England and Archbishop

Ambrose Maréchal, Mr. Maynard is not aware of all the ascetical and pastoral problems that divided the various groups. Bruté was a friend to all and could see good in both sides of each argument while agreeing perfectly with neither. As the "Angel of the Mountain" he did so much by his example and his advice to form the spiritual ideals of our American clergy that his personal character is intriguing. This portrait of him will introduce a saintly priest to new readers, but it does not give him that attractive personality to whom so many came for direction at the Mountain or which won so many friends on the frontier.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

Ten Decades of Alms. By THEODORE ROEMER, O.F.M.Cap., Ph.D., Professor of Modern History, Saint Lawrence College, Mount Calvary, Wisconsin. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1942. Pp. vii, 322. $2.75.)

It is a singularly appropriate time for the publication of a book of this kind. Not only will this careful factual account of the aid given by the three great European missionary societies to the struggling Church of the United States in the nineteenth century be of real aid to students of American church history, but it may also be of genuine service in arousing a spirit of charity among American Catholics for their stricken coreligionists in Europe. In other words, the volume of Professor Roemer will offer ample testimony to the fact that whatever calls may be made upon American Catholics for financial assistance to the Church in Europe following the war, they may be based not entirely on the motive of charity, but may cloak their appeal with a certain appearance of justice in asking for America's financial aid to rebuild their religious life.

Father Theodore long ago established himself as an authority on the European missionary societies with his monograph on the Ludwig-Missionsverein of Munich and his study of the Leopoldinen-Stiftung, both published in 1933. His European study enabled him to work in the archives of the Munich society where he catalogued and took notes on approximately 2300 letters from the United States; he likewise made himself thoroughly familiar with the *Berichte* of the Vienna society. For the Society for the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons-Paris he here leans heavily upon Monsignor Edward J. Hickey's authoritative study which was published as a product of the American church history seminar of Professor Peter Guilday at Washington in 1922. The description of the sources given by the author in his chapter, "The Historical Deposits," is one which no student of American church history can afford to overlook.

After an introductory chapter in which Professor Roemer describes the conditions which made the American bishops, priests, and religious beggars

in the early nineteenth century, he describes the founding of the three societies in Europe in separate chapters and then relates in ten chapters the story of their financial assistance over ten year periods to the American Church. In a chapter towards the close of the volume called "The Spirit of the Donors", he exonerates them from the charge sometimes made that they were motivated by nationalist ambitions in dispersing their funds. In a final chapter we have the inspiring story of the gratitude of the American Church told in the account of the donations of our Catholic people to the central Society for the Propagation of the Faith. A bibliography, list of the establishment dates of American dioceses, the statutes of the three mission societies, and an adequate index close the book.

In the century covered by this survey the three European societies of Lyons-Paris, Munich, and Vienna gave in all $7,970,840.53 to the American Church. The flow of money reached its peak in the decade, 1852-1861, the total for those ten years being $1,550,716.10, but even though the funds declined thereafter, the final ten years, 1912-1921, totaled $385,448.10. Most of the money was directed naturally to the bishops, but the religious orders received directly the large sum of $980,198.55 over the century. Father Theodore has included a number of helpful tables which enable the reader to follow the trends easily. Of interest to any American will be the figures for money sent from the United States to the missionary headquarters at Lyons-Paris. The first decade of 1832-1841 showed only $1853.10, but there was a fairly steady increase thereafter until the years 1912-1921 witnessed $7,953,022.65 of American funds being sent to Europe at a time during and following the first World War when it was badly needed. The total American benefactions for the century from 1822 to 1922 were $10,983,452.06, which passed by over three million dollars the totals sent by the three mission societies during the century to the United States.

It is an amazing story and Professor Roemer has told it with clarity, system, and thoroughness. Accompanying each decade he has included population figures and data concerning new dioceses. The only criticism this reviewer would offer is that a greater effort might have been made to get behind these benefactions and see what was done with the money. There are, of course, very real difficulties to doing that in a satisfactory way, but would it not be attained in part by taking account of the increase of priests, churches, schools, hospitals, orphanages, etc. in the various dioceses aided—even though the author would not be able to trace these enterprises directly to missionary funds from Europe. It would seem that to establish these facts would offer the reader some clue as to how the monies were expended. The reviewer noted several minor slips. One should read 'dioceses' for 'diocese' at the bottom of page 6; John Hughes was made archbishop of New York in 1850, not 1859 (p. 69); Peoria was

erected as a diocese in 1877, not 1875 (p. 175); and Arizona and New Mexico became states in 1912, not 1910 (p. 207). These, however, are very minor points in a book of solid and careful workmanship. Father Theodore has earned the gratitude of all students of American church history for giving us this splendid volume.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

Catholic University of America

MODERN HISTORY

Some Historians of Modern Europe. Edited by Bernadotte E. Schmitt. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 533. $5.00.)

Reviewing a book of this kind is rather like writing a critique of an exhibition of portraits, all of celebrities, all by different artists, but all executed in, or in connection with, one celebrated atelier. Grouping the subjects by nationalities, we have Aulard, Élie Halévy, Hanotaux, Lavisse, Mathiez, Sée and Seignobos; Ashley, Firth, Lodge, Rose and Temperley; Delbrück, Lamprecht, Marcks, and von Schmoller; Klyuchevsky, Milyukov, and Pokrovsky; Croce and Ruffini; finally, in rather solitary grandeur, Altamira. All of them, it will be noted, are men who were born in the mid or late nineteenth century, and whose principal work has been in modern European history. Their selection is to be attributed partly to Professor Schmitt's decision to omit those already dealt with by Gooch or by Fueter, and partly to his inability to find former Chicago graduate students willing to treat of other historians whom he had in mind. Hence any criticism regarding selection must have to do with inclusions, not omissions. One may wonder, for example, whether Croce (who is admirably delineated) might not better have been left in the company of the philosophers, or Hanotaux (as regards his later and best known work) in the ranks of the politico-journalistic narrators. Pokrovsky earns a place as a compiler of documentary collections which may prove to be reliable, and as representing the fundamental heresies of the Bolshevist concept of history. As for the naturally rather young contributors, a few have already made names for themselves; the majority are too able to be classed as merely workmanlike; and all write with an adherence to technical requirements (unnecessarily reminiscent of the solemnities of the seminar, sometimes) which does great credit to their training. All in all, the reviewer's task is difficult.

Still, it is a pleasant and a rewarding task; and not merely from the fact that any historian less omniscient than an Acton will pick up a good many useful bits of bibliography and historiography. For one may observe in some degree how the members of this group of historians, all more or less trained in objectivity, reacted to the liberal philosophies of the greater

part of the century, and to the increasing secularism, materialism, and determinism which have done so much to shape our own unhappy age. True, a number of them seem, like Mathiez, to have renounced any "systematic views on philosophy or on the world"; but certainly Altamira longed to discern "progress", while Ashley insisted upon discerning it. Sometimes, as among the Russians (all extremely well treated), one sees an apparent evolution going on. We pass from Klyuchevsky, the "typical liberal of the nineteenth century", through the radical, Milyukov, to the Marxian determinist, the somewhat dehumanized Pokrovsky. We are even shown the beginnings of a post-Pokrovsky reaction to a more human standard. There is, of course, a danger of exaggerating the impact of prevailing modes of thought upon these scholars; but one gains at any rate an impression that it was decidedly more marked in their case than in that of American historians. And not unnaturally, since in general their training and their interests were broader. Aulard's first interest was in literature, Halévy's in philosophy. Altamira first devoted himself to education and to law; Milyukov, to philosophy, philology, and archaeology. It might be interesting to debate the question whether or not rigid specialization is conducive to historical objectivity.

The faults which one finds in these excellent fruits of Chicago seminars are, for the most part, just what one would expect to find: the inclusion of conventional reviews of books (even well-known books) and of irrelevant biographical details. On the other hand, the sensitive portraiture, which acquaintance between contributor and subject might have supplied, is necessarily but unfortunately lacking in nearly all cases. Aulard, for example, revealed some of his more admirable and less admirable traits only to those who sat under him. Inevitably a flaw in detail will now and then appear: a reference which does not check, or some carelessness in statement. It is rather surprising to hear Catholicism referred to as "the religion of the south", and amusing to read that Hanotaux was never intolerant, "despite his interest in Catholicism"; but it is also sad to be reminded of the fact that capable students still use the term "casuistry" only in its debased sense. Still these are merely specks. The reviewer hopes that this book may circulate widely and rapidly among students and lovers of history, from neophytes to veterans; and that Professor Schmitt's seminar may long continue its fruitful work.

HERBERT C. F. BELL

Wesleyan University

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Golden Age of American Culture. By THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER. (New York: New York University Press. 1942. Pp. 171. $3.00.)

This is the sort of book one likes to pick up at the close of an exacting day's work or over a week-end. And the reader wonders, as he is guided by Professor Wertenbaker from one phase of colonial culture to another —easily, deftly, with all the grace and polish of the "Annapolis gentleman" or the "tobacco aristocrat" of whom he speaks—whether the students who listened to these Anson G. Phelps Lectures at New York University had any conception of the years of painstaking investigation that obviously have gone into the making of this little book. For its size is out of all proportion to its content. Perhaps one can most fittingly appraise it by comparing it, in its own field, with a Chippendale, or a Revere engraving, or a silver porringer made at "The Sign of the Golden Ball." One appreciates at a glance the finished product, but only the expert craftsman can estimate the labor, the skill, the artistry that went into its making.

The book consists of eight short chapters, the first and last serving respectively as prologue and epilogue, while the intervening six are devoted in turn to the culture of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston. After touching on the European background and the early pioneer conditions which for generations absorbed the physical and intellectual energies of the settlers, Professor Wertenbaker notes the emergence in the eighteenth century of a culture "shaped by four great factors . . . foreign inheritance, local conditions, continued contact with Europe, and the melting pot" (p. 17). The remainder of the introductory chapter is devoted to a consideration of these factors as they applied to the several groups of British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard.

While recognizing that there was a culture of the frontier, of the plantation, of the Main Street of every little country town, Professor Wertenbaker chooses to focus his attention upon that more sophisticated civilization which by the mid-eighteenth century had developed in the centers named above. It was, he notes (p. 157), an aristocratic culture, made possible by wealth, and manifesting itself in the things that money could buy and enjoy—fine houses, elaborately designed gardens, books, music, painting, the theatre, the arts and crafts that help to adorn a fashionable town house in Charleston or a fine country estate like Westover. Each of the colonial centers discussed, while having much in common with the others, had also its own distinctive flavor which the author is careful to point out.

One could wish that the author had given more consideration to the less tangible phases of this golden age of culture—racial and religious inheritances which were so closely interwoven into its social texture, the clash of inherent prejudices, the Indian, the Negro, the "poor white trash," the indented white servant, to mention but a few. That is perhaps asking the impossible, in view of the limitations imposed by the lectureship. To be sure, most of these phases of American culture have been treated by specialists, some of them very thoroughly; but there is need of a synthesis of which, let us hope, the book under review is but an earnest.

SISTER MARY AUGUSTINA RAY

Mundelein College

The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania 1776-1790. By ROBERT L. BRUNHOUSE. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1942. Pp. viii, 368.)

There is a kind of life cycle to political parties in the history of our country. The cause for which they are brought into existence remains to become the bane of their old age, for it can be argued, once the cause triumphs, that the party might just as well cease to exist. Of course there may still be a survival if the party can achieve the quality of an institution, and even a revival may occur when new issues relate themselves, however tenuously, to the fundamentals of an original cause. The true Whigs, or radicals, accomplished the revolution in Pennsylvania, but their days were numbered by the result of independence. After that the people tended to listen to the natural leaders of peacetime. So it happened that a mob forced the colonial Assembly to consent to new things in 1776, and supported a new constitution which became a fortress to the radicals and lasted until 1790, but it was a mob which signalled the end of revolution, in September 1787, by dragging two stubborn radicals to the assembly hall to make a quorum, so that conservatives could vote a call for a convention to ratify the Federal Constitution. For a complete liquidation of revolution, in 1790, the conservatives revised the frame of government to provide an area of consent within which no minority could engross a monopoly of voice. Thus was accomplished a full cycle of party history.

Dr. Brunhouse has been able to reveal the course of this cycle in a competent manner, by a careful study of an enormous amount of source material. This included state archives, private papers, and a considerable amount of newspaper material which required careful handling because of the frequent searches behind anonymity—as in the form of 'Pro Bono Publico,' or 'Civis,' not to mention 'Einen freyen Deutschen Burger der Staats,' which was then, as it is now, appropriate for many Pennsylvanians.

For the further telling of this political history of the revolutionary period the author deserves thanks. His book is, however, very much the dissertation, and of the kind one compares with a newly mined stone, one which would improve in appreciation after judicious cutting and setting.

To ask for the highlights and broader significances is, in this case, to ask for a clearer differentiation among groups within the radical party. What standard is implied in the remark that certain individuals represented "Radical thought at its best" (p. 143)? Likewise, it would be helpful to know more of the essential differences between Galloway and Allen on the one hand, and the conservatives like Wilson and Rush who remained Americans no matter how much they found themselves in disagreement, even in open conflict, with the bold politicians who became dominant in 1776. There were others like them in the other states, and their role was very important, as Dr. Brunhouse is well aware. But it was not just that they achieved reaction. Cannot one say that to them in great measure we owe the fact that it has become "un-American" to treat all opposition as unconstitutional? Was not their fight against the test oaths an assurance for the future that parties must not resort to the disfranchisement of large sections of the population? If the acid test of a Republic is, as it seems to be, the capacity of parties to know certain limits, then Americans learned much from this first of oppositions. It is inadequate to imply that they remained within bounds because such a course was natural to business men and property holders, that otherwise they would have advocated an overthrow of the radical constitution by force of arms (p. viii). It would have been easier to desert to the British.

The mechanics of the monograph are sound, except that some readers will object to turning to the back of the book for the Notes. Only one misprint was noted (p. 38). The style is simple and clear, with no slips except the reference to "Reverend Linn" (p. 160) which grates upon all but the most secular minded. This reviewer enjoyed making frequent references to Burnet's *The Continental Congress* for a broader view of many of the events described.

JOHN T. FARRELL

College of New Rochelle

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Canadian Relations 1784-1860. Vol. I. *1784-1820.* Selected and Arranged by William R. Manning. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1940. Pp. xlvii, 947. $5.00.)

Mr. Manning was well prepared to undertake this work. As a member of the Treaty Division, Department of State, he had published in previous years a similar work on the independence of the Latin American nations

in three volumes and on inter-American affairs, 1831-1860, in twelve volumes. In the present work he turned to the Canadian relations with the United States.

Interesting in itself, the book takes on greater importance because of present circumstances when a world war finds the two neighboring countries side by side. For the second time in a quarter century the two nations are fighting a common foe while from the beginning of their existence they had often been on opposite sides. In this volume of documents we find the difficulties which so often put the two countries at war or nearly so and as the problems were viewed and studied in the diplomatic circles.

In justice to the author it is necessary to state his purpose. First, this is the beginning of a projected four volume work; secondly, the name Canada covers all the British possessions in North America; thirdly, not all the diplomatic documents are included, though "the Editor's purpose [has been] to err, if he erred, on the side of inclusion, rather than exclusion". So we can feel assured that only "the purely formal but unimportant documents" have been omitted. Naturally a few of the important documents have been lost through improper filing or frequent moving or even fires. Where only parts of documents are given it must be understood that the omitted part is not related to British North America. Though many of the documents have been formerly printed still they have been included lest they would not easily be found elsewhere.

Such has been the author's method. As for the contents they are divided into two parts: Part I, Communications to Great Britain; Part II, Communications from Great Britain. A strict chronological disposition would be of value, but it would have been very difficult to attain accuracy in that field. The index will serve as a better guide; it covers twenty pages in double column and is highly detailed. Moreover at the beginning of the book there is a list of the documents in thirty pages, where are to be found the number, the addressor, the addressee, the date and the page of each document, put in chronological order. This arrangement will be found practical by scholars in their research work. Likewise, the numerous infra-paginal notes give a great deal of information.

ARTHUR MAHEUX

Laval University

The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard. By CHARLES C. TANSILL, Professor of American History in Fordham University. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1940. Pp. xxxix, 800. $5.00.)

In these days when the leading proponent of federalism urges Union now with Britain and is heard, and when American and British soldiers fight side by side in the continental theaters of the war, there is a disposition

to put aside, if not to forget the acrimonies and the hates which characterized, with few exceptions, Anglo-American relations during the most of the nineteenth century. There is likely, too, to be forgotten the fact that the roots of Anglo-American understanding and collaborations long antedate our present rapprochement. Some of these roots date from the conclusions of the important and successful Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 and the equally important Treaty of Washington (1871). Another, and more immediate, root, and this is the subject of Professor Tansill's volume, is the work of Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State during Cleveland's first administration and during the same President's second administration, our first Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Accused by many Americans of being an anglophile, especially because of his speeches—notably the one at Edinburgh on protection—Bayard is, nevertheless, in the volume under review, one who gave impetus to Anglo-Saxon unity and meaning to the phrase "hands across the sea."

Bayard's diplomacy in the Samoan question, his part in the acquisition of the lease of Pearl Harbor, his role in the vexing question of Canadian reciprocity and the fisheries, and in the international Venezuelan question, show him to have been a diplomat of the first rank. Not always in agreement either with public sentiment or the Congress, Bayard's record proves him, nevertheless, to have possessed those qualities which characterize the true statesman. The author had at his disposal in the writing of this work, the valuable and hitherto unused Bayard Papers in the Library of Congress which number over 200,000 pieces. The result of Professor Tansill's research is a scholarly and definitive history of American foreign policy during a period of rising American imperialism. It is at the same time the biography of an able diplomat. A companion volume, tracing Bayard's political career from 1865-1885, is now being prepared by Professor Tansill and will be published by the Fordham University Press to whom acknowledgment must be made for one of the most beautifully printed and bound volumes that this reviewer has been privileged to examine.

JOHN L. MCMAHON

Our Lady of the Lake College

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

La Florida: La misión Jesuítica (1566-1572) y la colonización española. By FÉLIX ZUBILLAGA, S.J. [*Bibliotheca Instituti Historici*, S.I. Vol. I.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I. 1941. Pp. xiv, 473.)

This book is in commemoration of the fourth centenary of the Society of Jesus and is a study of Florida history from 1512 to 1572. Much that is fresh has been revealed on many aspects of the Spanish history of the South Atlantic region from De León and Ayllón to Father Rogel and

Menéndez de Avilés. Florida is seen in better perspective here than in most books on the subject. For example, the international problem involved is very well conceived and very competently handled. The monograph runs true to form in that it presents the very short period of Jesuit activity in Florida with a very long and significant period of Florida history. The total result is overemphasis. A careful examination of colonial history on the Florida peninsula as this one could more appropriately be done with the Franciscans as background. Thus the first missionary victims are reached on p. 101 and the first Jesuits on p. 203 *et seq.* Any such misunderstanding would be the fault of the reader, but it is one that anybody but a specialist would be likely to make.

Here is a study which has not been undertaken with provincialism and complacency. As a matter of fact the author has been catholic enough in his selection of materials not only to make a good survey of European sources in the French, Spanish, and Jesuit archives, but to include many references to works produced in the United States. The documentation is presented in accordance with sound methods. One wonders, however, why he relies so much upon the general *Handbook* by Hodge for ethnological information and makes no use of the more valuable work—for this area—on the Greeks and their neighbors by John R. Swanton.

Father Zubillaga takes issue with a casual caption which referred to "the failure of the Jesuits" in the Florida area (p. 429, n. 72). Sensitive critics have more often answered that caption than they have what went under it. Zubillaga translates *failure* to mean *fracaso*. Some English readers have also put that construction upon it. Now *fracaso* has something of the significance of *fiasco* in it. Since *failure* can be construed to signify slight results, it is not fair to read only one meaning into the word. It makes no difference whether the Society left Florida because it was ordered to do so irrespective of achievements or because accomplishments in the field were unsatisfactory. The author's own caption, "causa del insuceso misional," is a more correct rendition of the English phrase than the forced *fracaso*.

An editor, harassed by "well documented" books which have neither bibliographical notes, bibliography, nor index cannot fail to respond to the excellence of Father Zubillaga's offering on that score. He will undoubtedly—and quite justly—think he has offered something more substantial for commendation!

JOHN TATE LANNING

Duke University

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The acute transportation problem caused the cancellation for the first time in twenty-three years of the annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association scheduled for December 29-31 at Columbus, Ohio. A small meeting for the transaction of necessary business and the reading of the presidential address of Martin R. P. McGuire has been scheduled at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington for January 16. Full details of this meeting will be reported to the members of the Association in the April issue of the REVIEW. The address of Professor McGuire appears as the first article in the current issue. Members of the Association will be kept informed through succeeding issues of the REVIEW on any plans that may prove feasible for a meeting in 1943. The American Historical Association and other historical societies were likewise compelled to forego their annual Christmas gathering because of the transportation difficulties.

The sixth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists was held on October 26-27 at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond, Virginia. On Tuesday evening, October 27, a joint meeting was conducted with the American Association for State and Local History which convened that day for its second annual meeting. The two meetings were rather well attended considering the present difficulties of transportation. Dominating both programs was the theme of conservation of records and the pursuance of historical activities in war time. The general feeling was expressed that despite the handicaps under which scholars now work they should redouble their efforts to make speedy provision for taking orderly care of the rapidly accumulating sources on World War II. A paper by William D. Overman, executive secretary of the Ohio War History Commission read on Tuesday, October 27, gave an outline of what one state is doing to preserve the records of its citizens' effort in the war. The Catholic University of America was represented at the meetings by the Managing Editor of the REVIEW.

Students of the history of the Church in the United States will be interested to know that a number of histories of American dioceses are in the process of being written. The history of the archdiocese of Boston is being done by the Reverend John E. Sexton and the Reverend Robert H. Lord. Fathers Sexton and Lord have been associated with St. John's Seminary, Brighton, for many years as professors of church history. The work is projected for several volumes. The history of the diocese of Indianapolis is being written by the Reverend Robert Gorman, professor of history at St. Mary-of-the-Woods College; that of the diocese of Syracuse, by Thomas

F. O'Connor; that of the diocese of St. Augustine, by Thomas E. Downey; and the second volume of the history of the diocese of Columbus, to commemorate its diamond jubilee in March, 1943, is being prepared by the Most Reverend James J. Hartley, bishop of that see since 1904.

Some recent acquisitions of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress will be of special interest to Catholic historians, e. g., 379 typewritten pages of translation of Spanish manuscripts of the period 1566-1725 made from reproductions in the collection of the North Carolina Historical Commission; a volume entitled *Los Franciscanos en Japón,* which contains facsimiles of certified copies of documents with descriptions in Japanese by José Muños dating from 1597; microfilm of 267 letters of Theodore Roosevelt during the years 1883-1918 written to five persons, among them Maurice Francis Egan.

The archives of the University of Notre Dame have been enriched by some 200 letters to Bishop Simon Bruté and a collection of letters to General William T. Sherman from his wife and other Sherman heirlooms. The Reverend Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., archivist, announced that the archives of the parish of St. Augustine including fifteen volumes of baptismal, burial, and marriage records (1594-1763) and the "Golden Book of the Minorcans" will be housed at the University for safekeeping for the duration.

The Bulletin of the New York Public Library for October, 1942, contains a bibliographic study by John H. Moriarity entitled "Directory Information Material (Printed) for New York City Residents, 1626-1786." All kinds of printed records have been brought under examination such as tax lists, military, passenger, institutional records, etc. The church records include a section on the Catholics (p. 844) and among the records of the ethnic groups the names of other early Catholics in New York City will be found under the Irish, French, German, and Polish lists.

Another example of the value of making public the riches of archival and library collections of sources is found in the article, "Resources of Western Libraries for Research in History," by Lawrence Clark Powell of the University of California at Los Angeles. Professor Powell's article appeared in the September, 1942 issue of the *Pacific Historical Review.* It is divided into eight sub-divisions as follows: Western Americana, Pacific Northwest, Rocky Mountain States, Spanish Southwest and Mexico, California, Pacific Basin, European, and British history. Articles of this kind are of genuine assistance in bringing to the attention of scholars available materials for research in various regions and depositories, as well as affording to the general body of the historical guild a chance to maintain at least a superficial acquaintance with the main attractions of the leading libraries of the country.

The new format of the *American Historical Review* has been received with general acclaim. The editor and his board are to be congratulated on the real improvements they have achieved.

Father William L. Lucey, S.J., of the College of the Holy Cross contributes a group of about twenty letters from the unpublished correspondence of Edward Kavanagh of Maine to the June *New England Quarterly*. These letters have to do with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty negotiated in Washington in 1842. Kavanagh was one of the commissioners for settling the controverted boundary question.

The December, 1941, issue of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia contains another supplement to Sister Maria Alma's "Foundation of Catholic Sisterhoods in the United States to 1850," an article on "Where Old Philadelphia Lingers," by Joseph Jackson, an essay on "John Baptist de la Salle," by Brother Aemilian, F.S.C., and the report of the Society for 1941. Readers of the REVIEW will welcome the news that the Society has completed plans for microfilming its rare books and manuscripts now housed at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Overbrook.

The September, 1942, issue of *The Maryland Historical Magazine* contains two articles of interest to students of the Carroll family. One is a paper read before the Maryland Historical Society on February 9, 1942, by Henry D. Harlan entitled, "The Names of the Great Lawyers on the Frieze of the Baltimore Supreme Bench Court Room," which contains a sketch of Charles Carroll, Barrister, distant cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The other is an article continued from a previous issue by Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Reading Interests of Maryland Planters and Merchants 1700-1776." It is devoted to the two Carrolls mentioned above and to Dr. Charles Carroll (1691?-1755), a Protestant representative of the family. The article is based on the family letterbooks and reveals how broad were the cultural interests of these men, particularly the famous Carroll of Carrollton.

The study of American Thought and Civilization has been given a useful reference in Robert Pollock's "Catholic Philosophy and American Culture," in *Thought*, for September, 1942. The essay contributes an orientation of the American thinkers with the "Western" tradition of enforcing regard for "particulars."

A propos the perennial "Frontier Thesis", Professor G. W. Pierson remarks in the *New England Quarterly* (June, 1942) that "What scholars need is less emphasis on the concept 'frontier' and a deeper comparative study of migrations around the earth." For the rest the article is the most thorough of all critiques of Turner's implied "values," and a deflation of the usefulness of the concept itself. It concludes that "In what it pro-

poses, the frontier hypothesis needs painstaking revision. By what it fails to mention, the theory today disqualifies itself as an adequate guide to American development." On the other side of the argument, probably the ablest defense of Turner and his approach was that by Avery Craven in *The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography* (Chicago, 1937).

The September, 1942, issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* out in a bright new format contains a number of items of interest to readers of the REVIEW. All American historians will profit from a reading of the article, "American Historians and the Frontier Hypothesis in 1941," by Professor George Wilson Pierson of Yale University, in which he presents the results of a questionnaire sent out to 220 historians on aspects of Turner's theory and their acceptance or rejection today of that theory. It was answered in whole or in part by 106. A reading of the article makes it clear that Turner's famous formula is far from dead among American historians but equally far are these same historians from any definite agreement as to the master's exact meaning, the theory's limitations, present validity, etc. W. B. Faherty, S.J., of St. Mary's College, Kansas contributes a brief article on "Wisconsin's Kilmer Memorial," the story of the library of Campion High School named in honor of Joyce Kilmer. Father Peter Leo Johnson's address at the Founders' Day Dinner on January 30, 1942, entitled "The Founding of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin" is published in the issue. It established the fact that the Society should consider its founding date as 1846 rather than 1849.

The informative series of brief articles on the Old Catholics in the United States and the career of Joseph René Vilatte which appeared in *The Salesianum* of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee between October, 1941, and July, 1942, has now been reprinted in pamphlet form. The authors are the Right Reverend Joseph Marx and the Reverend Benjamin J. Blied. They give the reader a good deal of light on this strange chapter in American church history.

Professor Robert Hastings Nichols of Union Theological Seminary writes a very interesting article in the September, 1942, issue of *Church History* entitled, "The Influence of American Environment on the Conception of the Church in American Protestantism." The writer finds that the influence of the thought of John Locke, the spread of what he terms voluntarism, and the dominant position of these sects which encouraged a personal religion in counter distinction to an organized church—all these have militated against the deepening in American consciousness and belief of the concept of an institution founded by Christ for man's salvation. The outlook on the whole is very dark and Professor Nichols takes a quite realistic view of the problem.

The survey of "State Constitutional Law", for 1940-1941, by Charles Aiken in the *American Political Science Review* for August, 1942, is further evidence of the fact that judicial review is still the material to set off violent argument. Mr. Aiken finds as particularly presuming the action of Louisiana's courts in disallowing an amendment to that state's constitution.

Those interested in the problems of post-war reconstruction will find the following articles helpful. "Social Reconstruction and Legislation" (*Catholic Mind,* November 22, 1942), tries to indicate the place law-making must have in the new program. "The Citizen of the State and the Faithful of the Church" (*The Ecclesiastical Review,* November, 1942, pp. 337-352) by Edward G. Roelker will give a scholarly background for the Catholic position in regard to legislation. "What about Germany after the war?" by Otto Strasser (*The Catholic World,* December, 1942, pp. 268-275) is a thoughtful, illuminating study by the author of *Hitler and I* and *Germany Tomorrow.* By arguments drawn from history Mr. Strasser easily disposes of annihilation theories and devotes most of his paper to the real problem: How can we avoid a third world war?

Professor Richard J. Purcell has an article, "United States History in Colleges," in *The Catholic Educational Review* for November. In general it constitutes an estimate of the New York *Times'* survey of the subject, and it concludes with the opinion that legislative bodies and educational authorities will be inclined to require both public and private colleges to teach American history. In the meantime the argument as to the advisability of such a requirement has continued in the *Times.*

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* in its September issue reprints editorials on the neglect of American history in our schools from the *Chicago Tribune* of June 25 and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of June 28.

The *Tablet* (September 5) carries an article on the teaching of history in the English schools. The author believes it a fine thing to introduce the English school child to the history of the country's allies, but believes it still more important that he learn unbiased history of the British Empire in which the Church will receive her just due.

Among the recent publications of The National Archives is a brochure of Emmett J. Leahy, former student of the Catholic University of America, on *Records Administration and the War.* Mr. Leahy, formerly of the staff of The National Archives, is now Director of Records Co-ordination of the Navy Department. He is commissioned as a Lieutenant-Commander.

Miss Elizabeth B. Drewry of The National Archives is the author of a brochure, *Historical Units of Agencies of the First World War,* published as Bulletin No. 4 of the Archives. In it are described the measures taken by ten key departments and bureaus of the national government in 1917

and 1918 for preserving their historical records. This description of the historical units of these agencies will be of service to students and historians who in later years will work in phases of the war effort of the United States in the two world wars. Those interested may write The National Archives for copies of the brochure.

Illustrating the application of the technique of microfilming in the reduction in bulk of large bodies of records of recent date are the microfilm copies of the general correspondence of the Washington, D. C. office of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, 1933-36, which The National Archives has just received. The photographs of the records on 482 rolls of microfilm occupy only 8 cubic feet whereas the records themselves, which have been destroyed, formerly filled scores of filing cases. A number of additions to the file microcopies of The National Archives have been made in the last few months. Among these are reproductions of outgoing letters of the Office of the Secretary of war relating to Indian affairs, 1800-24 (6 vols.), the records of the Russian-American Co., 1802-67 (93 vols.), and the Territorial papers of the State Department relating to Utah, 1853-73 (2 vols.), Washington, 1854-72 (2 vols.), and Nevada, 1861-64 (1 vol.). Positive prints of these reproductions are available at cost to anyone interested. In response to administrative needs of certain war agencies, a special list of material in The National Archives entitled *Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Relating to the Philippine Islands, 1898-1935; A List of Selected Files* (xii, 91 pp.) has been issued. This list, compiled by Kenneth Munden, is designed to serve as a guide to the contents of the main administrative and informational files of the Bureau insofar as they relate to the Philippines.

Dr. Donald D. Parker, formerly of Park College in Missouri, has sold his manuscript on how to write local history to the Social Science Research Council, which expects to revise and publish it. The complete lack of any single first-class manual on how to write local history which is applicable to the United States will make this volume a publication of real value.

The Reverend Hugh J. Somers, professor of history at St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, was elected President General of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association at the annual meeting in St. Hyacinth, Quebec, October 6-7. Father Somers took his doctorate at the Catholic University of America in 1931, writing his dissertation on *The Life and Times of the Rt. Rev. and Hon. Alexander J. McDonnell, 1762-1840.* The Reverend Brother Alfred, F.S.C., and the Reverend Thomas M. Charland, O.P., were elected presidents of the English and French sections respectively. A list of the papers read at the meeting will be given when they appear in print.

Le Canada Français of Laval University has a new editor with the October, 1942 issue. Abbé Lucien Talbot, professor of Greek literature in the University, replaces Abbé Arthur Maheux, professor of history, who will concentrate on historical research.

The annual *Report* of the Canadian Historical Association contains a well-documented paper by E. R. Adair of McGill University on "The Evolution of Montreal under the French Regime," which will be of interest to the historians of the Church in the Canada of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The same volume also prints a paper read at the annual meeting in Toronto in May by Professor Charles C. Tansill of Fordham University on "The Fur-Seal Fisheries and the Doctrine of the Freedom of the Seas."

The September, 1942 number of the *Canadian Historical Review* reflects the current emphasis of Britain's historic connections with Canada in three articles on Anglo-Canadian relations. There is likewise a five-page list of graduate theses on subjects in Canadian history in progress at Canadian and American universities. The article which will most interest readers of this journal, is most likely that of John Irwin Cooper of McGill University on "The Political Ideas of George Etienne Cartier." Cartier was trained by the Sulpicians at Montreal and it was from them that the author says he imbibed his "earliest lessons in conservatism." The article is based on Cartier's public pronouncements in the main.

The second edition of C. K. Jones' *Hispanic American Bibliographies*, citing twice as many titles as the original edition, has been published under the title of *A Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies*. It is issued as No. 2 in the new Latin American Series of the Library of Congress.

Archibald MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress, announces that Robert C. Smith has been named Director of the Hispanic Foundation to serve in the absence of Lewis Hanke, who has undertaken special work for the Division of American Republics, Department of State. Dr. Smith has had admirable preparation for his new position. He is a specialist in Latin-American and Portuguese art.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for November carries a bibliography of works in English on Latin America compiled by F. Ivor D. Avellino. The volumes are available at the Library and, while the list is far from complete, it affords material for a good general background of the history of South America.

Two current bibliographies have been received from Latin America: *Bibliografía brasileira, 1938-1939* (Rio, 1941), published by the Instituto Nacional do Livro of Rio de Janeiro; and *Anuario bibliográfico cubano, 1941* (La Habana, 1942), edited by Fermín Peraza Sarausa. Both of these lists will be found exceedingly useful.

Sister Mary Augustina Ray, B.V.M., professor of history in Mundelein College, Chicago, is the recipient of a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council to complete a study on American public opinion concerning the movement for independence in Latin America.

The Institute of Ibero-American Studies, The Catholic University of America, has announced that Professor Pedro Salinas, of The Johns Hopkins University, will address its membership on February 12. The current series of meetings, which has included lectures by Dr. Dantès Bellegarde of Haiti and the Reverend Dr. James A. Magner, procurator of the Catholic University of America, will be brought to a close in April with a paper by Mr. Richard Pattee of the Department of State.

The article of Richard R. Greer in the October, 1942 number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* entitled, "Origins of the Foreign-Born Population of New Mexico during the Territorial Period," will be of real interest to the American church historian. Mr. Greer bases his study on an examination of the decennial census reports of the United States from 1850 to and including that of 1910. As might be expected, Mexico led the field for all these years in the number of her citizens who took up residence in the territory of New Mexico. For the years 1850 and 1860 the Irish were second and the Germans third, while in 1870 the Germans passed the Irish by a narrow margin. Ireland regained second place to Mexico in 1880 only to lose it again to Germany in 1890. All previous leaders suffered a decline except Mexico in the report for 1900, but Italy made a strong showing that year and took second place in the census of 1910. It is instructive to set against these population figures the progress of the organized Church in New Mexico, which reflects in turn the increase of Catholics there. The life of the vicariate apostolic of Santa Fe, erected in July, 1850 was brief, for in just three years it was made a diocese, and in February, 1875 Santa Fe was erected into an archdiocese with the vicariates of Denver and Tucson as suffragans embracing all told much of the old New Mexico territorial domain.

Catholic Action (October) carries an article on the Inter-American Seminar sponsored by the National Catholic Welfare Conference. It gives an excellent picture of the people attending and prints several of the addresses.

The *Catholic Digest* for December is first to give the details on the barring of North American Protestant missionaries by some of the governments of South America. They appear in an original article by John W. White, correspondent for the New York *Herald-Tribune*.

The March, 1942 issue of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia carries an article on the missionary work of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in Latin America. December, 1942, marks the twentieth anniversary of the first group to arrive in Lima, Peru. They now have two schools in Lima and one in Santiago, Chile, with a total enrollment of 893.

The December issue of *The Field Afar*, the Maryknoll magazine, is devoted primarily to the new work of that society in Latin America. By next summer Maryknoll will have a hundred missionaries working in Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Central America.

The Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público of Mexico is to be congratulated on the publication of a catalogue of the manuscripts in its archives, *Guía del Archivo Histórico de Hacienda siglos XVI a XIX* (México, D. F., 1940).

Documentación sobre la Ciudad de Chihuahua was printed by the Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos in commemoration of the discovery of America by Columbus and the founding of the city of Chihuahua in 1709. It consists of four articles printed in the *Boletín* of the Society over a period of four years (1938-1942).

The introduction which Sr. Alberto Palcos wrote for his critical edition of Esteban Echeverría's *Dogma Socialista*, published in 1940 under the auspices of the Universidad Nacional de la Plata, Argentina, has recently appeared in a separate book under the title of *Echeverría y la democracia argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1941). In an appendix, the author has gathered together a number of illuminating documents, most of them hitherto unpublished, on the life of his subject.

Sr. Ricardo Rojas, sometime rector of the University of Buenos Aires, published his *El Santo de la espada, vida de San Martín* in 1933. A new edition of the already classic work was brought out by the Editorial Losada of Buenos Aires in 1940.

Among the latest publications of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of Buenos Aires, of which Dr. Emilio Ravignani is director, should be mentioned: Rodolfo Rivarola, *Ensayos históricos* (1941); Miguel Solá, *El escudo de Salta* (1942); Juan F. Pérez Acosta, *Francia y Bonpland* (1942); and P. Francisco Quecedo, O.F.M., *El ilustrísimo Fray Hipólito Sánchez Rangel primer obispo de Maynas* (1942).

Sr. Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, Peruvian writer, diplomat, and professor of the Catholic University of Peru, has begun the publication of his works on the foreign relations of his country in a series which bears the title of "La

vida internacional del Perú". The first volume, *La Constitución Inicial del Perú ante el Derecho Internacional*, concerning the history of the boundary dispute with Ecuador, has just appeared (Lima, 1942). A second volume will treat of Peru's relations with Bolivia; a third, with Brazil; a fourth, with Chile; a fifth, with Colombia; and a sixth and seventh with other countries.

The Catholic University of Peru was raised to the status of a Pontifical University by His Holiness Pope Pius XII on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding.

Germán Arciniegas, whose book, *Los alemanes en la conquista de América* is scheduled to appear in English translation, is the author of an article, "Tienen las Américas una Historia Común?", in the September, 1942, number of *Atenea*, organ of the University of Concepción, Chile.

Planalto, a promising Brazilian fortnightly review from São Paulo, has suspended publication.

The latest number of the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul*, Pôrto Alegre, Brazil (Ano XXI, II Trimestre 1941), is devoted largely to a "Vocabulário geográfico do Rio do Sul", prepared by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. The Review is edited by Professor Dante de Laytano, who has just returned to his homeland following a brief visit to the United States.

The Secretariat of National Propaganda of Lisbon has issued a useful booklet by Michael Frochot under the title of *L'Empire Colonial Portugais, Organisation Constitutionelle, Politique et Administrative* (Lisbon, 1942). This is an excellent summary of political and constitutional aspects of present-day Portuguese colonial administration.

"Antonio Ferro: Mouthpiece of a Prophet" by P. O'Curry (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June, 1942, pp. 495 ff.) is an informative piece about the author of *Salazar, Portugal and Her Leader*.

Volume LXV of the Camden Third Series of the Royal Historical Society is an edition of *The Correspondence of Charles Arbuthnot* by A. Aspinall. The correspondence runs from October 11, 1808 to June 15, 1850 and covers a wide range of subjects both public and private. Volume LXVI of the same series is *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, 1296-1297*, edited for the Society by L. Margaret Midgley, of which this is volume one.

The Month (July-August, 1942, pp. 307-321) carries an abundantly documented review by Leo Hicks, S.J., of Father Philip Hughes' *Rome and the Counter Reformation in England*. The article is not so much a summary review as a valuable contribution to the literature on the Archpriest Controversy.

A Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences has been established in America. The first number of its *Bulletin* appeared in October. It contains a lecture by Jan Kucharzewski on "The Polish Cause in the Frankfort Parliament of 1848," together with a number of addresses given at the the organization meeting and reports of proceedings. The *Bulletin* will appear as a quarterly at $4.00 per annum. (37 East 36th Street, New York City.)

Polish Science and Learning is a new periodical published by the Oxford University Press to serve the needs of Polish scholars now in England. The first number contains several historical articles: "Problems of Polish Historiography" by Professor O. Halecki, "Trends of Polish Economic Thought" by Professor F. Zweig, and "Poland and Paul I, 1762-72" by W. F. Reddaway.

The October semiannual issue completes Volume IV of *Historia Judaica* edited by Guido Kisch (40 West 68th Street, New York). This scholarly review of Jewish history emphasizes legal and economic history. In the current number the editor has a fifty-page article on the history of the Jew-badge in mediaeval and contemporary Europe. Herman Hailperin writes a lengthy review on Beryl Smalley's valuable work, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages,* and makes some contributions as regards Jewish influence on Christian commentators.

In the past year Professor Kisch has also published two useful articles on the study of legal history. The first, a critical appreciation of writings in mediaeval legal history which have appeared in America during the last decade (*Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* Bulletin No. 17); the second, a chatty address on the status of American research in mediaeval legal history (a lecture presented before the Riccobono Seminar for Roman Law and printed in the July issue of *The Jurist*). The latter paper sketches the development of the study of legal history in Europe and then turns to what has been acomplished in America. Though the author looks for the bright spots, he cannot be enthusiastic about the general attitude toward history in American legal circles. He sees encouraging signs in the recent development of mediaeval studies, which includes not a few articles on the history of law.

The Journal of Economic History for November, 1942 (pp. 164-174) carries an article by Sylvia L. Thrupp entitled "Medieval Gilds Reconsidered." This is mainly a survey of the work which must still be done if the real importance of the gilds in economic history is to be correctly estimated.

The third installment of an article on "The Christian Basis for a New World Order" by Donald A. Maclean, associate professor of philosophy in the Catholic University of America, appeared in the October number of the *American Journal of Economics and Sociology.*

In the same issue a popular article by Francis Neilson treats of Emile Mâle and the spirit of mediaeval culture. The author is enthusiastic about Mâle's now aging contribution. He launches into a disquisition of his own on miracles. He maintains: "All miracles are man-made and none but poets can make them." The new *Journal* is not bringing distinction to itself by printing an article such as Mr. Neilson's.

May 24, 1943 marks the 400th anniversary of the death of Nicolas Copernicus (1473-1543). Father of modern astronomy, he was a canon and a Dominican tertiary.

With the tercentenary of Saint René Goupil this year the cycle, ending in 1949, of tercentenaries of the eight Jesuit Martyrs begins.

The 200th anniversary of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was celebrated by a Solemn Pontifical Mass at Lancaster, Pennsylvania on November 24. The first church was established by two Jesuit missionaries, Father William Wapeler and Father Theodore Schneider. Due to war conditions plans for a large celebration were canceled.

Father Walter L. Read, pastor of St. Ignatius Church, Hickory, Maryland, has published an attractive little booklet commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the parish. It dates from 1792 as a chapel and from 1815 as an independent mission. The records of the parish are quite complete from 1817. Among the resident pastors one of the most noted in the history of the Archdiocese of Baltimore was Henry Coskery, who served during the years 1834-1839 at Hickory.

The Work of the Holy Childhood, which interests children in the missions, was founded a hundred years ago at Lyons by Pauline Jaricot and Bishop Charles-Auguste de Forbin-Janson.

The Sisters of the Holy Family of New Orleans celebrated their centennial November 21, 22, and 23. The order was founded by Harriet Delisle to be of service in the fields of charity and education among the Negroes. At present the sisters have about 7000 people in their care.

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Mother Mary Francisca Siedliska, foundress of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth in 1873, was widely observed by the faithful in Poland despite the German occupation of that country.

The University of Notre Dame began the celebration of its centennial on November 26. The November issue of the *Review of Politics* is dedicated to the University's anniversary and a history of the University compiled by the Reverend Arthur J. Hope, C.S.C., is being published by the Ave Maria Press. The celebration will continue through the year.

The centenary of the diocese of Pittsburgh is to be celebrated this year. A commemorative volume is being prepared under the auspices of the Catholic Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. It will be a co-operative enterprise under the direction of the Reverend Paul E. Campbell, President of the Society, and an editorial board. The centenary furnished the occasion for a series of four radio addresses given over WCAE during the month of October under the auspices of the Society. Among the participants were two men well known to readers of the REVIEW, Father Felix Fellner, O.S.B., and Father John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap.

Cornelius J. Kirkfleet, O. Praem., writes in the March, 1942 issue of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society on the centennial of his order in this country. The foundation in America was made by Father Adalbert Inama in 1843, but the first priory was not established until September 28, 1898. On that date Bishop Sebastian G. Messmer canonically erected at West DePere, Wisconsin, the Premonstratensian Priory of St. Norbert, with Father Bernard H. Pennings as its first prior. In 1925 Father Pennings became the first mitered Norbertine abbot in the United States. The community, which now numbers 158 members, has flourished under its zealous abbot. It has many activities, the chief of which is St. Norbert College at West DePere with a highly-trained faculty.

December 20th marked the 100th anniversary of the death of John DuBois, third bishop of New York and founder of Mount St. Mary's, the second oldest Catholic college in America. A brief sketch on him by Robert W. Hanlon appears in the *Catholic News* for December 12.

November 22 marked the centennial of the establishment of St. Peter's Cathedral parish in Belleville, Illinois.—St. Raymond's Church in the Bronx celebrated its centennial October 18-21.—St. Ann's parish in Ashland, Virginia, celebrated its golden jubilee in November.—St. Anthony's parish, Washington, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on October 18. The parish, in which is located the Catholic University of America, was begun in 1892, when Monsignor Hyvernat, professor of Semitic languages at the University, was appointed first pastor by Cardinal Gibbons.

The Dominican Sisters of Adrian, Michigan, celebrated the golden jubilee of their motherhouse on October 7. The community now has nearly 1200 members engaged in a great variety of works throughout the country. It maintains a house of studies at the Catholic University of America and conducts two colleges for women.

Matthew Pekari, O.F.M.Cap., is the author of a brochure commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the building of the parish church of St. Catherine at Catherine, Kansas. The Capuchin Fathers took charge of

the parish in May, 1878. The original settlement was made in April, 1876, by a group of Germans from the lower Volga valley in Russia. Their ancestors had gone to Russia at the invitation of Catherine II's government, but drain of manpower by the Crimean War caused these Germans to be drafted and consequently they decided to move to America.

The November issue of *The Voice* carries an account of the celebration on October 11 of the 25th anniversary of the Sulpician Seminary in Washington. The ceremonies included a banquet, dedication of the Sedes Sapientiae statue with a sermon by the Reverend John Tracy Ellis on the history of the Seminary, and Solemn Benediction.

Professor Gustav Schnürer of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, where he had taught for fifty-two years, died on December 14, 1941. A voluminous writer, his chief contributions were to the history of the Church and culture. His *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*, which appeared in an excellent French translation, is now being translated into English by the Reverend Dr. George Undreiner of the Josephinum, one of his former students. In 1930, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, Professor Schnürer was made a Doctor of Theology *honoris causa* by the University of Breslau, a distinction rarely conferred on a layman.

Jean Delanglez, S.J., pays a tribute in the September issue of *Thought* to his distinguished colleague, Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., whose death was reported in the July REVIEW. It will be good news to all of Father Garraghan's admirers and fellow workers to know that he left a five-hundred-page manuscript ready for publication, "A Manual of Historical Method," which is something of an adaptation of Feder but contains illustrative material from American history.

The October 16 issue of *Commonweal* carried a biographical article by Paul V. Murray on Carlos Pereyra, the Mexican historian, who died in Madrid on June 30, 1942.

Students of American church history will morn the loss of Louise Phelps Kellogg, who died on July 11. Miss Kellogg was long associated with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and will be remembered for her contribution to the printed sources of the colonial missions, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699* (1917), one of the volumes of the Original Narratives of American History. Likewise, she translated in two volumes with an introduction and critical notes Pierre François-Xavier de Charlevoix's *Journal of a Voyage to North America* (1923), and was the author of *The French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*. All these works are of high value to students in the field of colonial Catholic history.

Mary T. Hayden died July 12, 1942, at the age of eighty. She was for several years professor of modern Irish history at University College, Dub-

lin. Besides various articles on literary and historical subjects she published, with George A. Moonan, *A Short History of the Irish People* (New York, 1921).

Dom Bede Camm died at Downside Abbey at the age of 78. The son of an Anglican rector, he was himself ordained for the Church of England. His reception into the Church took place at Maredsous, Belgium in 1890. He entered the Benedictine Order and was ordained in 1895 at Rome. In 1913 he was called upon to arrange the reception of the Caldey Monks and the nuns of St. Bride's, Milford Haven, into the Church. He acted as novice-master of the monks for some time after their reception. His numerous writings were on historical subjects, especially on the English martyrs.

Monsignor Joseph M. Gleason died in Oakland, California on October 30, at the age of 78. He was one of a group which gave early support to the Academy of Pacific Coast History at the University of California and twice served as president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Monsignor Gleason was for some time head of the department of history in the San Francisco College for Women, to which he donated a splendid collection of books. While serving for nineteen years as pastor of St. Thomas Aquinas Church in Palo Alto he was on close terms with the history professors and students at Stanford University. He celebrated the golden jubilee of his priesthood just a month before his death. He had studied as an undergraduate at St. Ignatius College, San Francisco, and did graduate work at the University of California. He made his theological studies at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, where he was ordained by Cardinal Gibbons on September 24, 1892. Following his ordination he studied in Rome and Paris. In May, 1942 the Catholic University of America conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of laws in recognition of his devoted and loyal service to the interests of the University on the west coast. In his death the American Catholic Historical Association loses a very loyal friend. He had been a life member of the Association since 1924.

The Reverend Denis D. Lane, C.M., died in St. Louis in November. It was he who published, in 1927, the fact that the Continental Congress proclaimed a declaration of dependence on God and set aside a day for national prayer, fasting, and humiliation.

Edward J. Galbally, president of the Wickersham Printing Company and of the Dolphin Press, managing editor of the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, died on December 6. He was born in England in 1872 and educated there. Mr. Galbally was a man of broad culture. He was a discerning critic and remarkably competent editor. His publishing house has long rendered a distinguished service in the field of learned publications.

His interest leaned especially toward history, and he had served as editor of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* since 1904. For several years he was president of that society.

Father Francis S. Betten, S.J., who retired as director of the department of history at Marquette University two years ago, died on December 8 at the age of 79. Born in Westphalia, he entered the Society of Jesus in Holland in 1881. Before coming to America in 1898, he taught history at Feldkirch in Austria. In this country he was at various times located at Jesuit colleges and universities in Buffalo, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Milwaukee. For a time he was a member of the editorial staff of *America*. The deceased scholar was above all a practical teacher of history. His writings reflect this. Among his works were: *The Roman Index of Forbidden Books* (1909); *Ancient World* (textbook, 1917); *A Partial Bibliography of Church History* (1919); *Historical Terms and Facts* (1924). He made a great number of contributions to historical periodicals. The *General Index* of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW testifies that few wrote more for the REVIEW than he did. Recently a number of his articles were published in a volume entitled: *From Many Centuries* (1938). He was keenly interested in libraries. One of his latest efforts was directed toward having St. Peter Canisius declared the patron of libraries. Father Betten was one of the founders of the American Catholic Historical Association and served regularly on its committees. His inspiring presence will be missed at the annual meetings.

Documents: The Writ for Enforcing Watch and Ward, 1942. F. M. Powicke (*English Histor. Rev.*, Oct.).—Taxation and Consent in the Court of Common Pleas, 1338. J. G. Edwards (*ibid.*).—Letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister [cont.]. (*Maryland Histor. Mag.*, Dec.).—Some letters of Bishop Henni addressed to the Reverend Joseph Ferdinand Mueller of the Ludwigmissionsverein, Munich. Peter Leo Johnson (Ed.) (*Salesianum*, Oct.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ALLEN, ROBERT J. *Life in Eighteenth Century England.* Foreword by C. B. Tinker. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. 1941. 42 plates. $5.20.) "The student of eighteenth century English culture has a distinct advantage over those whose interests lie in the more remote past," says Mr. Allen in opening his excellent summary account of that culture and its foundations in the booklet attached to this portfolio. He refers, of course, to the fact that so much of the material required for reconstructing the past in this instance is preserved and available, in fact still visibly a physical part of present experience. But if for the student this is an advantage, it is an evident disadvantage for one who attempts to reduce that wealth to the limits of a pamphlet and a set of forty-two plates. Mr. Allen has done a good job of selecting, and his work provides a real conspectus of the field it surveys, as well as a concentration of some of its most pleasing essences. Though the commentary sometimes, and sometimes the selection of material for reproduction, suggests a slightly Whiggish bias, there is here an adequate condensed record of practical invention and social enterprise as well as of the general taste and of much individual achievement in the arts in eighteenth century England. The work is intended as an introduction only, and as such it is thoroughly satisfactory, and should certainly be in every college library. The apparatus includes a general essay, some notes on recorded music of the time, and a brief bibliography. To the last might well be added L. I. Bredvold's essay on "The Element of Art in Eighteenth-Century Poetry" in his *Selected Poems of A. Pope* (New York, 1926), a better general approach to all the arts of the period than anything here mentioned; Mr. Allen's own *Clubs of Augustan London* (Harvard, 1933); and perhaps Bonamy Dobrée's collection of short biographical studies, *From Anne to Victoria* (New York, 1937). In connection with the sentence: "No entirely satisfactory history of eighteenth-century literature has yet been written, though there is one in prospect from Professor Sherburn" (p. 35), it might be noted that from Professor Bredvold too we may hope for such a history, and that there is to be one by Professor R. S. Crane in the projected Oxford History of English Literature. (CRAIG LA DRIÈRE)

BATTENHOUSE, ROY W. *Marlowe's Tamburlaine.* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 266. $2.50.) Subtitled *A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy*, this work departs from earlier interpretations of Marlowe's play. "Ambition, plainly, is the central theme of *Tamburlaine*. Why, then, may we not regard Marlowe's play as a moralized history after the pattern of the *Mirror for Magistrates*? Does not Tamburlaine share the typical concern of Renaissance tragedy: the theme of man's faulty passions and God's just providence? If our answer can be affirmative, then modern interpretations of *Tamburlaine* based on the notion that the play is an autobiographical document of Marlowe's romantic revolt against orthodoxy will have to be sharply reconsidered" (pp. 15-16.)

In making his affirmative answer to the questions put, the author considers first the background of *Tamburlaine*: Elizabethan religion and atheism, the religion of Sir Walter Raleigh and of George Chapman, Renaissance theories of fortune, fate and providence, and punishment. In the second part, "An Anatomy of *Tamburlaine*", chapters are devoted to Marlowe's use of historical sources, the extra-historical morality elements in the play, the influence of Spenser, Seneca, and Machiavelli, and Tamburlaine's humors and passions. The treatment of some of these subjects is brief and superficial. Nevertheless, all are well-documented and all contribute to the substantiation of the book's basic contention. Beyond the brevity of certain sections and despite certain minor and for the most part irrelevant errors, Mr. Battenhouse has written a work in which the present reviewer finds little to criticize. The book represents the realistic approach to the problems of literary criticism. As such, *Marlowe's Tamburlaine* indicates the value of the method and that it will become increasingly fruitful with increasing knowledge of the history of ideas and with growing sensitivity to varying intellectual climates. (JOHN K. RYAN)

BEERS, HENRY PUTNEY. *Bibliographies in American History. Guide to Materials for Research.* 2nd ed. (New York: H. W. Wilson Co. 1942. Pp. xv, 487. $4.75.) The publication in 1937 of this guide to bibliographies in American history was immediately welcomed as a volume which would be of constant aid to the research student. Its appearance now in a second edition is even more welcome. In the new edition Dr. Beers has continued the same editorial principles which marked the first with an addition of about 4,000 new titles. These new titles include a large number which appeared before the first edition of this work and all publications which came to the editor's attention between the summer of 1937 and November, 1941. Notable among the additions are several hundred cartographical titles arranged for the most part together in Chapter XV but also classified under other subjects. Quite a few titles might be added to those on the Catholic Church, e. g., John Paul Cadden, O.S.B., The Historiography of the American Catholic Church, 1785-1941, in manuscript in the Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America; Robert Gorman, *Catholic Apologetical Literature in the United States, 1784-1858* (Washington, 1939); two items of Professor Peter Guilday, "John Gilmary Shea," in *Historical Records and Studies*, XVII (July, 1926) and "Catholic Lay Writers of American Catholic History," in the *Catholic Historical Review*, XXIII (Apr., 1937); Sabinus Mollitor, O.F.M., "Franciscan Historical Bibliography," in *Report* of the Franciscan Educational Conference, IV (November, 1922), and Joseph Paul Ryan's "Travel Literature as Source Material for American Catholic History," in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, X (January, 1928 and April, 1928).

The above additions may serve to make more complete the section on the Catholic Church furnished by the editor on pages 222-223. All in all Dr. Beers has rendered a real service to all workers in the field of American history and the volume deserves wide use and frequent revisions to keep it up to date. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

BROCKUNIER, SAMUEL HUGH. *The Irrepressible Democrat: Roger Williams.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1940. Pp. xii, 305. $4.00.) Numerous have been the biographies of Roger Williams. Among all the colonists down to the revolutionary period, this dissenting "radical" and contemporary enigma has enjoyed the most extensive historical treatment and interpretation. Professor Brockunier of Wesleyan University has not merely increased the Williams bibliography. This present volume is certainly the most readable and interesting of Williams' biographies and from the professional viewpoint, it is an excellent restudy and re-interpretation of that New England "riddle". All the available original materials have been rechecked, the pertinent contemporary and the better monograph materials have been studied, and the whole integrated and interrelated into a valuable account wherein Williams' life and contributions are evaluated in "continuous reference to the contest of aristocratic and democratic factors in Rhode Island and other Puritan colonies and the mother country as well" (p. vii). The author has attempted to chart a course between the "filiopietistic fraternity and ... the school of accusation" and he has truly presented a man of flesh and bone, of greatness and weakness, neither a saint nor a sinner, neither a scatter-brained idealist nor solely "a practical man". The relationship between frontier conditions, Williams' idealism, and the generous economic equalitarianism of Rhode Island's land policy is the unique contribution of this biography. In the reviewer's opinion, this volume is the best biography of Williams, but it cannot be considered as the definitive study.

The stated purpose, "to reveal the essential ingredients of the democratic upthrust ... as exemplified in ... Roger Williams" is this critic's key to the basic weakness of this excellent study. The book is written from the "liberal" point of view and incidents or attitudes not in accord with that attitude suffer in proportion to the treatment given incidents which are "progressive". The most evident example is the treatment accorded to the Boston Puritan group. It is not that the author is tangibly erroneous, but the spirit and the impression of his account are certainly in contradistinction to those of Perry Miller and Samuel Morison. It is worthy of mention that several references to twentieth century "red-baiting" in New England are also injected into the account. The Catholic reader will be interested in learning that Williams recommended religious freedom for the Irish but he will not find any answer herein as to why Catholics did not come to seventeenth century Rhode Island, if that area enjoyed absolute religious freedom. With these limitations this recent biography of Roger Williams can be recommended as the most intensive and acceptable study of "Ideas in Action" for early Rhode Island and for Williams. (EDWARD P. LILLY)

CROSBY, SUMNER MCKNIGHT. *The Abbey of St.-Denis, 475-1122.* Vol. I. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. xv, 211. $7.00.) This first volume of a projected two or three volume work in the Yale History of Art Series, as the author, who is professor of the history of art at Yale, observes, "... is not the first attempt to solve the riddle of the Patron Saint of France or of the series of buildings dedicated to him. It is, nevertheless, a justifiable one, since there exists no authoritative summary embracing the results of the

recent research of individual scholars, as well as a meticulous re-examination of the stones comprising the corps of the present church." To this succinct statement of the nature of the work nothing really needs to be added.

In regard to content, the first five chapters, covering eighty-six pages, present the historical background of St.-Denis; the remaining three, in one hundred pages, deal with the archaeological problems of the church of 775 and the chapel of 832, and conclude with a brief presentation of the problem of the eleventh century building and the Abbey at the beginning of the twelfth century. A bibliographical note of eight pages presents a brief resume of the texts used, while an adequate index makes references readily available.

The work is well documented throughout and manifests a wide and intimate knowledge of the sources and literature pertaining to the Abbey. The archaeological aspects are abundantly illustrated with ninety-two photographs, drawings, and plans for the period covered in the volume. The appeal of the book is designed primarily for the student of art and only incidentally for the student of history. The former will find in it a competent summary of previous excavations and an interesting discussion of earlier opinions of constructional and decorative features of the buildings. The pages given to the treatment of the capitals attributed to Fulrad's church will be particularly appreciated. The results of the various excavations are made readily comprehensible both through the judicious use of a key to the symbols adopted and an easy diction. Indeed, lucidity of presentation is a marked characteristic of the entire work.

The historian will be puzzled by the sentence in which the author seems to hold that Clement was the immediate successor to Peter in the See of Rome (p. 29). Since that is not the generally accepted place of Clement in the line of succession, some evidence should be adduced in support of the statement. (CHARLES E. SCHRADER)

EUSTOLIA, SISTER MARY. *With Wings as Doves.* (Oakland: College of the Holy Names. 1942. Pp. xiv, 177. $1.50.) Obituaries of those deceased during the year are part of the customs of many religious communities, men and women. *With Wings as Doves* is such a collection. It portrays the distinguishing traits of character of Mother Rose, the foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, and of eleven of her early companions. Built upon the sacrifices of its early members the congregation has grown. From humble beginnings, now on the eve of its centenary, it numbers about thirty-five hundred who are charged with the education of close to fifty-seven thousand pupils. As teaching is the chief work of the sisters, Mother Rose was tireless in inculcating those virtues which are the requisites of a teacher: kindness, patience, and consistency. She believed education to be something more than the mere imparting of knowledge. To her it was the development of a dynamic quality which would translate knowledge into action, consonant with man's end.

A distinguishing note characterized each sister: one had great care of little things; desolation of spirit meritoriously borne marked another; a third utilized the lack of congeniality amongst her companions. A fourth is an example of misunderstanding virtuously borne, while a fifth was patient under

criticism, and a sixth had great simplicity. The trials of another prepared her for the work of sub-mistress of novices. Temptations against her vocation beset another; and still another is proof of the value of the cross. Humility distinguished the tenth, and the eleventh, as infirmarian, was motivated by our Lord's words: "I was sick and you visited me."

In the religious life of each of these sisters, Mother Rose, by admonition and example was, under God, the fashioning agency. Her dying words: "Speak to me of the good God" are an index of the force whence she derived her power. The title indicates how this group whose religious life was so short accomplished much for eternity. The book is a contribution to hagiography; it is worth reading. (SISTER AGNES BERNARD CAVANAUGH)

HOARE, SISTER MARY REGIS. *Virgin Soil: Mother Seton from a Different Point of View.* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1942. Pp. xii, 176. $2.00.) Mother Elizabeth Seton, through the efforts of her recent biographers, has become recognized as one of the truly heroic characters of native American Catholicism. Undoubtedly her story contains moments of great suffering and examples of the highest and tenderest emotions. Consequently, when the author of this dissertation claims to approach her story from a different point of view, much can rightfully be expected by the reader. To consider Mother Seton as the founder of our parochial school system throws new light on the importance of her mission in the early American Church, but to attempt to prove her claim to that title by syllogistic reasonings is futile. The book has been poorly planned and the few important observations in its pages are lost amidst vague generalities, awkward sequence, and even bad grammar. The author is apparently unaware of the correct way to make footnotes or to substantiate a statement. There are some very attractive odds and ends in the appendix, but who said them, to whom they were said, and when they were said is left to the imagination of the reader. (THOMAS T. MCAVOY)

JACKSON, DAVID K. (Ed.) *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 377. $4.00.) Eight essays have been gathered into this *Festschrift* to honor the memory and the scholarship of the late Professor Boyd. Presenting the work of scholars in such fields as literature, economics, sociology, and history these essays possess only a very tenuous unity. They are all papers "read or developed" at Professor Boyd's dining club of non-professional and faculty friends, and almost all deal with some aspect of Southern history. With one exception, the locale of these studies is the ante-bellum South. Joseph Spengler presents a comparison of the political economy of Jefferson, Madison, and John Adams, demonstrating the sources and the basic republican similarity of their views despite their regional and cultural differences. The story of ante-bellum Cincinnati, whose river trade made it the commercial queen of the Mid-West, is presented by William Mabry. The city's decline is attributed to the economic transformations of the railroad age, although greater credit could be attributed to the westward movement of the sources of supply. The reviewer was particularly attracted by Jay Hubbell's narrative of the old South's literary rebuttal to abolitionism and northern literary superiority. The relatively

unsuccessful effort of the militant southern literati to combat the penetration of northern magazines and papers into their region by the development of a regional ("national") literature which indoctrinated southern ideals, was one, even though a minor, aspect of the growth of that most potent sub-nationalism in American history. All the essays are presented in acceptable professional form and a laudable feature of the entire volume is the general readability and interest possessed by the eight contributions. The book is clearly printed and remarkably free of typographical errors. The limitation of the index to proper and place names alone, will restrict the wider use which this volume could enjoy. There is practically nothing in the volume of specific interest to Catholic history, but Catholic historians can secure herein summary treatments of the continuing reinterpretation of southern history. In all, the book is a worthy contribution and a fitting tribute to the memory of William Kenneth Boyd. (EDWARD P. LILLY)

JONES, S. SHEPHERD and DENYS P. MYERS (Eds.) *Documents on American Foreign Relations.* Vol. III. *July 1940-June 1941.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1941. Pp. xl, 805. $3.75.) The third volume of *Documents on American Foreign Relations,* published by the World Peace Foundation, covers a crucial and tense year. The year began ominously with the military defeat of France. It saw the German blitz invasion of Russia and the signing of the Three Power Pact. The rapid and frightening developments of these months makes it unnecessary for the historian to be an artist; the documents themselves are sufficiently compelling reading and tell the story.

As the editors explain, the war-time policy practised by governments of curtailing information has made it necessary to employ a good number of "unofficial" sources for documentary texts. Only in this way could the picture of the critical year 1940-1941 be made complete enough to show the actual role played by the United States during that period.

The book is divided into three sections. The first contains general statements of principles and policy; the second contains texts bearing on our relations with foreign states; the third section is devoted to matters classified under "national action." In their Preface the editors suggest that the aim of the World Peace Foundation, which is to promote peace by increasing public understanding of the basic material of international affairs, is realizable in the future because the American worker, taxpayer, and citizen is also a worker, taxpayer, and citizen of the world. It is pathetic that a documentary collection—a collection of facts concerning a whole world at war—must be appealed to as more persuasive for peace than the light of man's natural (but self-abused) intelligence. (CHARLES N. R. MCCOY)

KOSÁRY, DOMINIC G. *A History of Hungary.* (Cleveland–New York: Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile Society. 1941. Pp. xxxi; 482. $2.75.) There is at times the happy coincidence that needed works of history appear just at the right moment. An up-to-date history of Hungary in English was much needed, and when Nazi expansion in Europe focused attention on this eastern outpost of Catholicism, *A History of Hungary* appeared in this country.

The author of this well written volume is professor of history in Eötvös College, Budapest and is one of the promising young historians of Hungary

who had the good fortune to grow up in the new historical school of Professor Szefü and enjoy the guiding influence of Count Paul Teleki, the geographer of international repute.

The volume contains a wealth of material, covering ten centuries full of important events, in which the national history of the Magyars is unraveled with scholarly restraint and sincerity. Like a red line runs through the whole the innate love of Hungarians for freedom and independence, and their stubborn resistance to imperialism, from whatever quarter it threatened the national existence of Hungary. It is perhaps not without significance in the light of the present plight of Hungary, that the author makes pointed references to this struggle by citing the verse of the sixteenth century poet:

> The haughty Germans persecute me;
> The infidel Turks surround me:
> Shall I again enjoy, and when,
> A residence in old Buda town.

and at the very end of his narrative the words of Count Teleki, the last freely appointed prime minister in 1939: "Twenty years cannot change, what a thousand years could not alter . . . The Hungarian nation stands on its own feet."

Students of eastern Europe will welcome this volume, which disposes of many controversial questions, because the factual presentation makes one feel that the author is interested only in the truth. For this reason it is regrettable that the volume was not published by an established American publisher. Was the international situation the cause of that? (TIBOR KEREKES)

LOYOLA, SISTER M., O.P., Ph.D. *Visualized Church History.* (New York: Oxford Book Co. 1942. Pp. iv, 328. Paper, 80c., cloth, $1.12.) It is a pleasure to recommend this excellent text to the teachers of history in our Catholic high schools. *Visualized Church History* supplies an urgent need at a price within the reach of our students. The seventeen chapters are carried under seven units (the foundation of Christianity, the growth of Christianity, the ages of faith, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation, from the French Revolution to the present, Catholicity in the United States). There are a number of tabulations and chronological lists. Each unit is supplied with ample references for more extended reading and with a variety of new-type objective questions. Thirty or more illustrations depict important phases in the nineteen centuries of the Church's history. The maps are adequate for a book of this kind. The "thought content" has been judiciously selected and shows the fruit of actual classroom experience. In arrangement and typographical aids *Visualized Church History* represents well all the features that we have become accustomed to associate with books of this type.

Some of the dates should be rechecked, for example, in Unit VII: "As early as 1522, the Church in the New World was governed and guarded by Spanish Bishops" (p. 276) leaves the impression that 1522 represents the date of the establishment of the hierarchy in the New World. It is hardly correct to place the foundation of Santa Fe in the year 1588 (p. 277). The Catholic University of America was not founded in 1877 (p. 308); the correct date

is given in the Chronological Table. In that table, 1823 is given for the date of the establishment of the first Catholic newspaper, the *United States [Catholic] Miscellany*. The first issue appeared on June 5, 1822. (CYRIL GAUL)

MARX, WALTER JOHN. *Mechanization and Culture. The Social and Cultural Implications of a Mechanized Society.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1941. Pp. vii, 243. $2.00.) The author of this volume tackles a real and controversial topic: the effect of the machine upon labor, agriculture, and human culture in general. The trouble with this problem is that a variety of scientific approaches come to grips here; the economist is convinced that it is for him to decide whether or not the machine destroys natural resources and throws men out of work; the sociologist insists that environment problems are at stake; therefore he surprises us with his particular niceties about the issue. To add to the measure of the troubles confronting us the various experts in the same field differ widely: e. g., Emil Lederer insists that long-term unemployment may be caused by labor-saving devices, whereas P. H. Douglas would not accede to this proposition, nor would any of the strict economic theorists. Mr. Marx, in writing this book, had a bear by the tail; the reviewer is not sure that he always realized that it was a grizzly. The adherents of progress—both the conscious and sub-conscious ones—would shrink from the author's philosophy, and so undoubtedly would all clear-cut determinists (and who among modern scientists is not?). So here is your grizzly, Mr. Marx.

The devotees of progress and determinism will say: nothing can stop the hands of the clock; if humanity struggling forward is confronted with the evils accompanying progress, let us fight the evils without interrupting the glorious march onward. The reviewer suggests that in a second edition the author start off with a chapter on fundamentals and principles, analysing the meaning and scope of progress (about which Berdaev and Max Scheler have written remarkable studies); that he, furthermore, state briefly the objections against determinism in the socio-economic sciences, define clearly his values, and then proceed to give the works to the naïve apostles of progress and of determinism.

The problem that Mr. Marx attacks is far beyond the reach of specialized sciences; it demands treatment on the level of a philosophy of the common good. This book approaches the issue with a great deal of learning and of courage, and with that realism concerning man and society which grows out of a Catholic philosophy of life and out of Catholic social ethics. Berdaev, Scheler, Maritain, and Sorokin—to mention only a few names—have done excellent work toward the re-establishment of a philosophy of the common good today. The author of the volume under review, joins from more practical approaches, the frontal attack against the destructive gospel of machinism. This is a great merit in itself. (GOETZ A. BRIEFS)

MENDELL, ELIZABETH LAWRENCE. *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. xvii, 213. $7.00.) To examine under the uncompromising light of science an art which has often been described as "quaint", "picturesque", "rustic", or even more vaguely as "charming", is a task demanding mental courage as well as sensitive appreciation and fine judgment. Miss Mendell presents, perhaps at the risk of

disillusionment, a scholarly analysis of the small Romanesque churches which dot the countryside in the community at the mouth of the Gironde, where the influence of the East produced a unique and delightful expression in miniature of the great mediaeval movement.

The sure, deft style of the author leads to a minute inspection of the many existing edifices in this locality, and we emerge from this with a deep respect for the monuments and the artisans whose personalities the structures reflect. Though heretofore alluded to only superficially, it must be said that these churches acquit themselves magnificently on closer inspection. We become conscious of a definite type peculiar to this region, the outcome of generations of serious design and collaboration, particularly between architects and sculptors. The beauty of the decorative members testify to a time when, in all probability, the architects and sculptors assisted in the actual execution of their designs in stone. This book opens the door to a more intimate understanding and appreciation of the superb craftsmanship of an age which witnessed such a happy marriage of architecture and sculpture. (ROBERT A. WEPPNER, JR.)

MUMEY, NOLIE, M.D., M.Sc. *History of the Early Settlements of Denver, 1599-1860.* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1942. Pp. xvi, 213. $6.00.) Dr. Mumey's latest book is not, strictly speaking, a history of the early settlements in and around Denver. Rather, the work is really an excellent collection of facts and anecdotes relating to the history of the period. Because the author has chosen to present early Denver, not by way of narrative, but by means of brief, pithy chapters concerning Denver's early history, he merits the gratitude of his readers. The book is engrossing because of its author's approach to the subject. As one reads the vast amount of research necessary to collect within the covers of one book the carefully documented information presented, becomes evident. Those who read the book will be pleased, especially if their training has been historical, with the painstaking effort made to determine the source of both legend and fact. Particularly valuable, as an addition to universally available Americana, are the several lengthy reproductions included. Facsimilies of Denver's first City Directory, of its first newspaper, etc., are of great value to students and of real interest to general readers. Students of western America will learn much from the reproductions. For example, study of the advertisements of the first newspaper at once indicate a striking difference between the frontier village of the period and that of earlier times. Even a brief examination of the facsimilies promptly indicates the dependence of the early settlers of Denver on such "solidly established" communities as Council Bluffs, a city described to the Denverite as a vast and complete emporium.

This reviewer offers only one criticism of the book. Denver is situated in the old Spanish domain of the country. While the author neglects no other 'first' regarding the city, he includes no 'first' concerning the Catholic Church during the period. The omission is disappointing. Dr. Mumey took such pains with so many other phases of Denver's early history that we regret his neglecting the legends, facts, etc., concerning Catholic 'firsts'. (JOSEPH P. DONNELLY)

NEVINS, ALLAN. *The Gateway to History.* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co. 1938. Pp. vii, 412. $3.00.) The author tells us in his Preface that "this [book] is an attempt to bring out certain of the richer meanings of history, to explain in some detail its objects and difficulties, and to make clear its proper standards; and yet while doing this to illustrate its wonderful variety, and to show how engrossing its pursuit may be made." He has broken away deliberately from the formal technical treatment of history and historical method as found in conventional manuals to write a very personal and enthusiastic introduction to the reading, study — and enjoyment — of history. The main text consists of fourteen chapters and there is an adequate index.

Throughout the book, beginning with the Preface, the author bemoans the fact that so much of our history writing is dull, and he is very severe on those luckless historians who have not been blessed with the gift of style. Much that is said on the importance of style in the writing of history should be taken to heart by our young graduate students, who, incidentally, can derive a great deal of information from the present book and will need no urging to read it to the end.

But for the sake of these same graduate students, the reviewer considers it only fair to point out that the book is not without its faults. Professor Nevins has let his enthusiasm color his judgment at times to such a degree that some of his observations would be more proper to a flippant columnist than to a sound historian. A specialist in American history, he does not hesitate to range over the ancient and mediaeval fields with equal confidence, and the result is a number of more or less serious errors. He is opposed to all dogmatic interpretations of history, particularly those of a theological nature, but he does not seem to realize that he himself takes a very definite dogmatic position when he accepts rationalism of the nineteenth century tradition as an absolute norm of historical objectivity. The following passage illustrates his own brand of dogmatism: "We have little patience today with George Bancroft remarking in his eulogy of Lincoln: 'That God rules in the affairs of men is as certain as any truth of physical science.... Kings are lifted up and thrown down, nations come and go ... but nothing is by chance, though men, in their ignorance of causes, may think so'... We have little patience with Hilaire Belloc's twaddle about the figure of an Ultramontane and very Bellocian God in all human affairs" (p. 267). In a footnote on the same page he then cites a passage from Cardinal Newman —without understanding it—to show that Newman "sometimes lost faith in a divine pattern." Lastly, the bibliographical appendices would seem to have been compiled with unusual carelessness, as they contain many errors of various kinds. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

POWICKE, F. M. *The Reformation in England.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. vi, 137. $1.75.) This is not a history of the Religious Revolt in England. It is an attempt to explain the way in which the transition from the mediaeval system to the organization of the Church in Tudor times was effected, and the changes which this transition involved. The central figures are Sir Thomas More, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Stephen Gardiner, and Cardinal Pole. Students of the period will recognize this as a

reprint from the treatise to be found in *European Civilization: its Origin and Development* edited by Eyre and published by the Oxford University Press in 1936. There is very little change in the text of the reprint from that of the original. The first sentence of the original publication caused such a storm of protest that it was changed. There is no index to the book, the reason assigned for the omission being that it is so short that it needs no index. The reviewer does not believe the reason a valid one. The only bibliography is a short one of books not previously printed in the original article.

Professor Powicke emphasizes one point of interest, viz., the perplexity of the clergy. The bishops of the time do not fall into one pattern. John Fisher remained practically alone in his stand. The Henrician bishops attempted to remain loyal to Henry and Rome, only to find later on that this was impossible. The third group, headed by Cranmer, sought the solution in being loyal to Henry and severing relations with Rome both as to dogma and administration. Curious differences are analyzed in Powicke's discussion: a man might sympathize with Queen Catherine and yet be indifferent to the claims of Rome, or be a strong follower of Rome and at the same time hope that the King would get his divorce or he might be willing to die for the unity of the Church yet rejoice in the fall of Wolsey. Perhaps the best contribution made by Powicke is to bring into relief the point that people were quite confused about the whole matter.

His treatment of the monasteries is quite different from that to be found in either Gasquet or Constant. The latter author insists that the dissolution of monasteries brought on the problems of unemployment, rebellion, and pauperism. Professor Powicke maintains that everybody dispossessed was well taken care of; laymen formerly employed by the monks found employment elsewhere. Abbé Constant in his new work, *Edward VI,* is in disagreement (pp. 116-117). There is an excellent contrast between Gardiner and Pole, the former advocating loyalty to Rome but independence as far as administration of the Church in England was concerned, Pole stoutly adhering to the traditional form. (EDWARD V. CARDINAL)

QUIGLEY, HAROLD S. *Far Eastern War, 1937-1941.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1942. Pp. xi, 369. $2.50 cloth; $1.00 paper.) Out of the 369 pages composing this book only 282 are the work of the author; slightly more than 24 percent make up the index and appendices. Most of the latter can be found in the bulletins of the State Department or the columns of the New York *Times.* These form no part of the story which the author tells; they simply are a convenience to the casual reader.

The opening sentence in the Preface is an unfortunate generalization which its author will find difficult to defend as a statement among persons who have lived in the Orient for any extended period. Chino-Japanese friction in trade and diplomacy has been continuous since the opening of the twentieth century and it still continues. These troubles cannot be traced to one special incident. The fact is that since the Boxer trouble there has been a long procession of petty jealousies carefully interspersed with acid partial

truths altered by both sides, into which squabbles the Western powers have with skill entered when any assistance to one side or the other held out hope of a reward for some particular service rendered. This has been the continuing source of international trouble in the Far East.

This same period has been marked with fighting in Manchuria, Shantung, along the Yangtze, and at Shanghai into which foreign powers have entered as it suited them. The attack on Pearl Harbor enlarges the area of the fighting and increases the number of nations taking part in the war. Thus saying "The Far Eastern War begins with Lukouchiao and ends with Pearl Harbor" is a sentence that merely misleads; it does not elucidate. Similarly in the final chapter, there is an absence of understanding that the Washington Conference, by not asking Russia to attend, and then seeking to limit the armaments of Japan, gave rise to two new problems. France, Italy, and the United States could not easily be attacked by Russia, but Japan was continually open to attack from eastern Siberia; Russia could arm as she chose, Japan was tied down to fixed terms in naval defense. This the Japanese resented.

Generally, this volume is lacking in perception of what must result from the actions of Western nations which signed the Treaty of Versailles and the various Washington agreements. The fact is that the economic and political mess in China, Manchuria, and Japan has just as much been made by Western interference as by anything that was locally developed. (BOYD-CARPENTER)

SCHROEDER, HENRY JOSEPH, O.P. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.* Original Text with English translation. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1941. Pp. xxxiii, 608. $6.00.) Students will find this book indispensable for evaluating the notable achievements of the churchmen assembled for the purpose of reforming the Church. The volume enables us to read what the Council of Trent acutally did, instead of reading books written about the proceedings of the Council. Its decrees were signed at its close by four cardinal legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, 167 bishops, seven abbots, seven generals of orders, and nineteen proxies for thirty-three absent prelates. The members formulated the orthodox teachings of the Church on the Ten Commandments, the Commandments of the Church, the Seven Sacraments, and the Sacramentals. There was strong need to define in a clear and unmistakable way what the exact teaching was on the sacraments and the sacramentals. Obviously the book is a valuable arsenal for teachers. They will find in it the *materia ex qua* for sound teaching from the sources. Undergraduate students can be assigned readings from the volume for this difficult period of the religious upheaval while graduate students will find it a treasure house of documents.

Many scholars have long been aware of the fact that the period of religious upheaval of the sixteenth century has been studied more in its disruptive character than it its constructive stages. Both are necessary. A diagnosis of the patient is necessary, but it would be of little value if it were not followed by prescriptions for cure. There are more students who know how and why all this religious trouble took place than those who know what was done to

cure the evils. There has been a maldistribution of emphasis. The reform needed and attempted was undertaken in two different ways: from the outside, e. g., Lutheranism, Calvinism, Anglicanism; and from the inside, i. e., the Council of Trent, the organization of new religious orders, etc. The amount of space given in our textbooks to the latter type of reform is small compared with that given the former.

The book would be more helpful if mechanical devices were used in greater number to feature certain important elements in the text. The lack of this will make it a bit unattractive for undergraduate students. (EDWARD V. CARDINAL)

SHIPTON, CLIFFORD K. *Biographical Sketches of those who Attended Harvard College in Classes 1713-1721, with Biographical and Other Notes.* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1942. Pp. xii, 641.) This is Volume VI of "Sibley's Harvard Graduates", publication of which was begun in 1873. The project is carried on by funds left by John Langdon Sibley to the Massachusetts Historical Society for that purpose.

The present volume gives a brief account of all students who attended Harvard College during this period of eight years. There are one hundred and seventy-five sketches. The Class of 1713 numbered six members; that of 1721, thirty-seven (the largest which had entered Harvard up to that time and famous as the *Learned Class*). Of the one hundred and seventy-five, three are sketches of men who were "members of no particular class".

This volume should prove of real value to those interested in the early history of New England and students of genealogy. It will interest, however, not only the scholar, but anyone to whom the story of these early days has an appeal. One gets something of the sensation that comes from taking up a modern class report and reading the history of the class, with this difference, of course, that none of these sketches was written by the person himself. They range in length from many pages, such as that of Governor Benning Wentworth of the Class of 1715 (21 pages), or that of Charles Chauncy of the Class of 1721 (21 pages plus six and one-half pages of bibliography of his writings), to that of Boster Hutchinson of the Class of 1721 (14 lines).

All of the sketches are not only scholarly but are written with a pleasant touch that makes them appeal even to the casual reader. It is interesting to note that in several of the sketches the question of inflation is mentioned, e. g., in the sketch of the life of Thomas Hubbard, it is stated that he opposed inflation and "since inflation was supported by the popular or 'patriotic' faction, it was fortunate that he had no political ambitions."

Not the least interesting part of the volume is the illustrations, twenty-two in number. These portraits would serve as an interesting source of study of the New England notables of the day. Particularly interesting is that of Ebenezer Gay (p. 60). (WILLIAM H. J. KENNEDY)

SMITH, CHARLES EDWARD. *Tiberius and the Roman Empire.* (Baton Rouge: Louisana State University Press. 1942. Pp. iv, 281. $2.75.) This scholarly study of Tiberius' reign, while acknowledging the value of the work done by Professor Marsh, M.P. Charlesworth, and M. Gelzer, is a real contribution to the study of the history of the Roman Empire. Thoroughly conversant with the monographs and articles dealing with interpretations of events in this reign and with the critical use of Tacitus' *Annals* and other literary sources, Professor Smith has presented a balanced interpretation of, and has given proportionate attention to, the constitutional, administrative, and economic phases of this critical period. Repudiating the traditional concept of the gradual revelation of a depraved character, the author does not psycho-analyse the hidden thoughts and motives of Tiberius but allows the facts to interpret the man.

Circumstances exonerate Tiberius of complicity in the death of Agrippa Posthumus and indicate Livia's guilt. Tiberius' protestations to rule are not entirely hypocritical, yet had as their objective "to make it appear that he held authority with constitutional sanction implemented by senatorial action." Tacitus' censure of Tiberius' conduct during the mutiny of A.D. 14 is justly refuted by his own account of the emperor's explanation. Professor Smith justifies the prosecutions during the reign and shows that the charge of a "reign of terror" is unsupported by the evidence. Although the author rejects the thesis of moral degeneration after the withdrawal to Capri on the evidence of the continuance of excellent administration to the very end of the reign, and defends Tiberius against the charge of perfect hypocrisy, errors of judgment are admitted, e. g., Piso's appointment to the delicate Syrian mission; Tiberius' excessive confidence in Sejanus; the failure to come to Rome to deal at first hand with the Agrippinians; withdrawal to Capri, which cut him off from his hope of collaboration with the Senate. Another great fault of the emperor was his lack of regard for the impressions made by his deeds and words, e. g., his conduct at Germanicus' funeral, and his failure to visit Livia during her last illness. However, history has proved his grasp of the German problem, while his eastern policy prevented war with Parthia. The abilities of Tiberius are best judged by his capable administration of the larger interests of the empire. Here, according to Professor Smith, one can arrive at a valid estimate of the significance of his reign. His economic policies were basically sound and were coupled with humanitarian objectives.

The work contains an excellent bibliography. The critical footnotes which discuss the interpretative issues of the reign display wide and critical reading and the noted balanced judgment of the authors. (CHARLES W. REINHARDT)

STERN, BERNHARD J. *Society and Medical Progress.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. xvii, 264. $3.00.) *Society and Medical Progress* is a functional socio-economic approach to the science of medicine. The history of medicine is divided into two independent traditions, the medico-religious and the secular-scientific. The author fails to indicate the mental and psychological aspects which are becoming potent influences in modern scientific medicine. Religion is presented as a part of the superstitious and

magical entity. Such an unauthoritative bias is regrettable in an otherwise scientific historical sketch. Two statements illustrate this viewpoint. First, the interpretation of the relation of the Church to the low ebb of medicine in the Middle Ages is confused. Further on it is stated that medicine did not begin to develop until the end of the nineteenth century. A challenge to prove the responsibility of the Church for medicine in the Middle Ages would be as interesting as one to prove the responsibility of the Church for the lack of air transportation twenty years ago. Secondly, the scientific viewpoint of St. Hildegarde, a Benedictine nun, who sensed the value of recording the prescriptions of medicinal plants, is given as an indication of the low ebb of medicine. Other such unauthoritative statements lessen the value of this work.

The scientific foundations of medicine are presented in an interesting review of the sources. The history of nursing is closely woven into the whole pattern. The chapter on the scientific foundations of medicine gives to the teachers and students in nursing valuable collateral reading.

The history of hospitals is limited to the period before the discovery of ether and the economics of hospital support. The dependence of an urban population upon economic factors for public health facilities and the low standards of health until recent years is worthy of serious consideration by all workers in the fields of medicine and health. The long struggle for public approval of dissection is interesting and could be used by hospitals in the education of personnel who are concerned with securing autopsy permissions. Physicians struggled for the right to study the human body but were slow in accepting Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood, Auenbrugger's theory of percussion, the idea of asepsis. Both Oliver Wendell Holmes and Ignaz Semmelweis were ignored and resisted when they independently found the cause for puerperal fever. Lister and Pasteur were also resisted. The story of vaccination and other phases of the public health movement will interest all students.

The book is a functional study of medicine in its social and scientific setting. It contends that medicine is dependent upon other sources, such as natural philosophy, mathematics, biology, botany, chemistry, and physics. Psychology and sociology are seeking recognition as essential medical knowledge. The bibliography is given as "Notes" under chapter headings. The material is interesting and would be enjoyable as well as informative to students and graduate nurses. Except for the statement in the first chapter in reference to the Church, the content is scientific and well documented. (Sister M. Olivia Gowan)

Stock, Leo Francis (Ed.) *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America.* Vol. V. *1739-1754.* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1941. Pp. xxv, 658. $5.25.) This fifth volume of Dr. Stock's *Proceedings and Debates* brings nearer to completion this essential documentary work for American colonial history. Maintaining its editor's tradition, detailed accuracy, and abundant citation to explanatory and reference materials characterize the present volume. The widely separ-

ated depositories indicated by the reference material demonstrate the sincere efforts of the editor to present a permanent reference work which later generations will not be compelled to re-edit. It is to be regretted that economy, as well as the increasing mass of documents, prevent the inclusion of the extensive excerpts and summaries from the less available documents, which characterize the earlier volumes in the series. However, there is a reasonable basis for such restriction in order to prevent the publication from becoming too extensive, and as the debates in the Parliaments become more extensive, the explanatory material is less necessary. An editorial summary of the major issues and controversies considered and discussed by the Parliaments within the indicated years succinctly presents the basic trends of parliamentary opinion and action. Besides acting as a reliable summary, this Preface acts as a guide to the location of major questions discussed by the political leaders.

The scope of the present volume carries the debates relating to America from the start of the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739 to the session previous to the outbreak of the last intercolonial war in 1754 (the French and Indian War). Covering an era of war and peace (and particularly the period of the Duke of Newcastle) the attitude of the English leaders regarding America is portrayed in multifarious incidents. A glance at the editor's Preface will indicate other important developments which cannot be indicated here.

Attention should, however, be called to the Irish Parliament's lists of "convicts" transported, mainly to America, in this period. Listed as felons, vagabonds, forgers, and, even those uncharged, some 2000 men and women of Northern and Southern Ireland were given over to the merchant contractors together with £3 Sterling per person for the cost of their transport to America. All participants in this traffic, apparently, made a profit, from the county sheriff to the merchant transporters (and possibly the American dealers in "flesh" or the disposers of indentured servants). One Dublin merchant secured £266 gross return for transporting twenty-two "convicts" to Maryland (p. 606 n). Numerous hints on the nature and evils connected with this Irish migration are contained in the debates and their accompanying notes. These lists may also fill up some lacunae in American "family trees", although positive identification is only infrequently provided.

The volume is surprisingly accurate in detail and only those who have labored through the original parliamentary Journals can appreciate the simplification with which this series is providing the student of American history. It is to be hoped that Dr. Stock will complete the series to 1783 with the same amount of detailed collation and specific reference. An extensive and accurate Index (43 pages), which is thoroughly cross-referenced, will prove invaluable to the scholar who is seeking isolated items. (EDWARD P. LILLY)

TICKELL, RICHARD. *Anticipation. Reprinted from the First Edition, London, 1778. With an Introduction, Notes and a Bibliography of Tickell's Writings,* by L. H. BUTTERFIELD. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 97. $1.50.) Richard Tickell was a satirical poet, an intimate of the Fox-Sheridan circle, a Whig, and a commissioner of the Stamp Office. *Anticipation,* which appeared three days before Parliament met in November, 1778, is a satirical

parody of the first day's debates "to be held" on the motion for an address in reply to the king's speech. By anticipating the speeches the author hoped to avoid any breach of the order which forbade publication of what was said and done in Parliament.

The serious turn of affairs in America against Great Britain was the topic of these proceedings. The parody is witty, and presents to a remarkable degree the idiosyncracies of the speakers. David Hartley adheres to his habit of quoting his friend Franklin; Wilkes indulges in scriptural citations; Townshend uses his peculiar interrogatory style and leaves his questions unanswered; Luttrell points out historical parallels beginning with ancient times; Burke employs his customary purple patches to bemoan the fate of the declining empire; Fox uses skilful arguments to show the futility of continuing the war; North is verbose and detailed in his plea for vigor and firmness; Barré, in his real speech that day, cited a colonial governor and translated his French expressions "exactly", reported Walpole, "in the manner here ridiculed."

This is the first reprint of the pamphlet since 1822. Mr. Butterfield has illuminated the text with scores of scholarly notes. The Foreword is contributed by Randolph G. Adams of the W. L. Clements Library. (Leo F. Stock)

Wells, Henry W., and Roger Sherman Loomis. *Representative Medieval and Tudor Plays.* Translated and modernized with an Introduction. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. 301. $3.50.) In the past decade or so there has been a remarkable increase in the popularization of mediaeval literature. In the field of English literature selections from Chaucer, a few ballads and lyrics, and perhaps a bit of *Piers Plowman* once represented to the college sophomore and the interested amateur all that was worth rescuing from the oblivion of Middle English. Years of scholarly research are now bearing fruit, not only in the increased importance allotted mediaeval literature and culture in the classroom and in the correspondingly greater space allowed it in anthologies for college and even for high school use, but also in the ever growing number of modernizations of mediaeval literature appearing on the publishers' lists. The present volume of modernizations of mediaeval drama from Latin, French, and Middle English texts, is noteworthy in that the dramas are presented solely on their own merits as "good theatre" and as such are intended for reading and study. Hitherto, adaptations and modernizations of mediaeval drama have been made sporadically for performance by college or amateur dramatic societies or for study in their relation to later, particularly to Shakespearian drama. This is the first attempt to present mediaeval drama in modern form for the sake of its own intrinsic value.

In including selections from the French and Latin, the editors express the intention of giving some notion 'of the cosmopolitan nature of mediaeval drama'. Although the introduction treats briefly of the history of French and English drama, ignoring that of other European countries, the cosmopolitan theme is carried out in the selections only in the miracle play of which no pure example has come down to us in English literature. The selections chosen to represent the mystery or cycle plays, the morality and the interlude are all from English drama. The miracles include three St. Nicholas plays from the Latin, one of which is from Hilary, and Andrieu de la Vigne's

miracle of the *Blind Man and the Cripple*. The mystery or cycle plays are represented by the Wakefield *Annunciation* and the *Second Shepherds' Play* and by a cut and arranged version of the Hegge Plays, rather misleadingly divided into acts and scenes. The cutting presented, however, does give a notion of the scope of the cycle plays. *The Summoning of Everyman* stands alone for the moralities and John Heywood's *John, Tyb, and Sir John* and the *Pardoner and the Friar* for the interlude. It might be objected that the interlude offers a wider and more varied field of choice than the representation by a single author and a single type, the farce, would indicate. For the most part, the selections are well made and fairly representative in the fact that each is an obvious type and each can, as the editors intended, be judged on its own merits.

The value of the book is greatly increased for those wishing an introduction to the mediaeval drama by the introductory survey and the selected bibliography. The introduction is brief and admirable within its limits. If the editors seriously intended the volume to be cosmopolitan in its scope, then both in the introduction and selections they have neglected almost half of European mediaeval drama, both in Latin and in the vernaculars. It is to be doubted, however, whether an anthology including only ten selections could possibly attempt to survey the entire field of mediaeval drama. One error in fact mars the introduction. The feast of Corpus Christi was not "decreed by the Council of Vienne in 1311". Originating as a local Belgian festival it was raised to a feast of the universal Church by Pope Urban IV in 1264 and the decree failing to achieve universal enforcement because of the pope's death in the same year, was re-promulgated by Clement V in 1313. (SISTER M. EMMANUEL COLLINS)

WERTENBAKER, THOMAS JEFFERSON. *The Old South*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. vi, 364. $3.50.) This is the second of the author's series, the Founding of American Civilization. However, this volume does not measure up to its predecessor, *The Middle Colonies*. In spite of the author's apology, the emphasis on architecture throws the book out of balance. There is a vast amount of material on the non-English settlers in the South not found collected elsewhere, though it is not entirely new. The author has not given equal attention to the different colonies. Georgia is practically ignored. It is not even in the Index.

Decidedly the best chapter is that entitled "Artisan at Work". Here we have a good study of the man with a trade, his difficulty to obtain tools, material, and clientele. Important notice is taken of competition with the slave and freed Negro. This point carries over into the South of today where such trades as carpentry, masonry, house painting, wall-papering, etc., are frequently taken up by Negroes.

The reviewer notes only one misprint that might be troublesome. *The History of Williamsburg* (County, South Carolina) is by William W. Boddie, not Baddie (p. 344). There is no bibliography and the Index is incomplete. (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

WOODGATE, M. V. *St. Louise de Marillac, Foundress of the Sisters of Charity*. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1942. Pp. 196. $2.00.) This short popular biography reveals the part played by St. Louise de Marillac

as founder with St. Vincent de Paul of the Sisters of Charity. The author has caught in this book the spirit of the age. She has a real understanding of the religious, social, and political problems which the organizer of an active religious life for women had to meet and solve in the France of the seventeenth century.

The reviewer feels that while the work makes no contribution to historical research and adds nothing to our knowledge of St. Louise de Marillac or St. Vincent de Paul, it does make a contribution to Catholic literature in general and to Catholic biography in particular. It is an excellent volume for the general reader. It emphasizes what we want brought out in biography —the personal element—an accurate interpretation of character and environment. Power of personality and strength of character are strikingly manifest in a consideration of St. Louise de Marillac and St. Vincent de Paul as they come in contact with living, suffering humanity in the person of the sick and the poor. They are real human beings. Through the work of these heroic souls the reader is better able to understand and comprehend the complex social problems involved and is better able to appreciate how social reforms were initiated and how social institutions came into being.

In a pleasing narrative style the author makes the history of the period vital and concrete. She gives her readers not only the story of the foundress of a religious order; she gives them the story of one of the greatest pioneers of organized charity. The volume is well printed and well indexed. (SISTER CATHERINE FRANCES)

WOODRUFF, DOUGLAS (Ed.) *For Hilaire Belloc: Essays in Honor of his 71st Birthday*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. vi, 218. $2.50.) The eleven essays which this birthday volume comprises are a tribute from English Catholic journalists, essayists, and scholars to the doyen of their corps. The sole bond of unity within the book, as the editor points out, is the faith of the contributors. Unlike most *Festschriften* the present volume is singularly free from any attempt to glorify the recipient by studies of his works or the usual appended bibliography. Aside from the initial essay, in which Douglas Jerrold presents a brief appraisal of Belloc's achievement in setting new currents in social and political thought and assigns to him a pioneer's place in the current counter revolution, the contents of the volume indicate the special interests of the contributors. With the exception, however, of Arnold Lunn's disquisition on "Alpine Mysticism and 'Cold Philosophy'," which reads more like a lecture casually caught in type than an essay, and Monsignor Ronald Knox's diverting account of that innocent Victorian divine, "The Man Who Tried to Convert the Pope", the contributions may be roughly classified as literary and historical.

The four literary essays vary in scope and interest from David Jones' presentation of the Arthurian traditions in Wales and their meaning for the Welshman to J. B. Morton's identification of the mysterious young woman who was the original *jeune captive* of Chénier's poem. Although Mr. Jones modestly claims only an amateur's interest in Arthurian myth and romance, the skill with which he picks his way through the Arthurian maze reveals unusually wide and penetrating reading in the field. Christopher Hollis analyzes the

works of Trollope and finds him "sceptical of all systems; one of the few in his day, or any day for that matter, who judges a man as a man rather than as an exemplification of a formula". Working in the same period, Douglas Woodruff carries the history of the doctrine of 'exorbitance', which Newman pointed out as the most insidious of modern errors, through to Chesterton's violent and gallant reaction to this same exorbitance which he termed the lack of balance or excess in the thinking of his own day.

The literary studies are, on the whole, polite essays or informal discourses; the historical studies are cast in the form of journal papers, complete with scholarly apparatus and footnotes. Again, the essays vary in scope and ponderability, but it is interesting to note that three of the four papers are devoted to mediaeval culture. C. A. J. Armstrong's excellent essay on "Cicely, Duchess of York: a Study in Late Medieval Culture", will undoubtedly make the collection a necessity for students of literature and history. Cicely, Duchess of York, takes her place in the long line of noble women and pious recluses stretching from the "tribus puellis" of the *Ancren Riwle* to Lady Margaret Beaufort and Joyeuce Leigh whose influence on the culture and thought of their day is just now being investigated and assayed. The value of the book to the student is also enhanced by the remaining slighter but important contributions: Father Gervase Mathew's note on the link furnished between the Byzantine court of the twelfth century and Oxford University by a group of Oxford manuscripts; W. A. Pantin's study of the continuity of ecclesiastical traditions as represented by the pre-Conquest saints of Canterbury; and Bishop David Mathew's interesting study of the seventeenth century antiquarian, Lord William Howard, a study of the man through his books in the library at Naworth.

On the whole, the volume affords pleasant and profitable reading and gives assuring evidence of the activities of English Catholic writers and scholars. It is to be regretted that the book shows signs of hasty printing. A few errors which, without search, leap at the eye, are appended for correction in the event of a second edition: p. 55, *quasvat* for *quaerat*, and *mythical* for *mystical*; p. 59, *el* for *et*; p. 68, note, *Historical Manuscripts Communion* for *Historical Manuscripts Commission*; p. 88, note, *Geitesgeschichte* for *Geistesgeschichte*; p. 121, *Madeville* for *Mandeville* or *Maundeville*. (Sister M. Emmanuel Collins)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Resources of Western Libraries for Research in History. Lawrence Clark Powell (*Pacific Histor. Rev.*, Sept.).

Needed Changes in the Course in World History. Clarice J. Weeden (*Social Studies*, Oct.).

Will Geopolitics be the Guide of Those Who Make the Peace? W. Eugene Shiels, S.J. (*America*, Nov. 14).

Ten Centuries of History. Joseph McSorley (*Catholic World*, Oct.).

Olmstead's Chronology of the Life of Jesus. Carl H. Kraeling (*Anglican Theol. Rev.*, Oct.).

The Episode of the Roman Standards at Jerusalem. Carl H. Kraeling (*Harvard Theological Rev.*, Oct.).

Pre-Maccabean Documents in the Passover Haggadah. Louis Finkelstein (*ibid.*).

The Communism of Saint Ambrose. Arthur O. Lovejoy (*Journal of the Hist. of Ideas*, Oct.).

Aquinas versus Marx. Part. I. Alfred O'Rahilly (*Studies*, Sept.).

The Theory of Democracy. Part IV (*Cont.*). Mortimer J. Adler and Walter Farrell, O.P. (*Thomist*, Oct.).

Equality Outside Europe. Christopher Hollis (*Tablet*, Sept. 26).

The Essential Conditions for International Order. Andrew Beck (*Tablet*, Oct. 31).

"As boas obras e a esmola," de S. Cipriano. (*A Ordem*, May).

Santo Irineu, Bispo e mártir. (*Ibid.*, June).

S. Justino: Diálogo com Trifão (Prólogo). (*Ibid.*, July).

Sermão de São Leão Magno sôbre a Transfiguração. (*Ibid.*, Aug.).

The Egyptian Desert Fathers. Aloysius Roche (*Tablet*, Sept. 9).

Reflections on the First "Reception" of Roman Law in Germanic States. Ernst Levy (*Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.).

Petrarch, Charles IV, and the 'Renovatio Imperii'. C. C. Bayley (*Speculum*, July).

More Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin. Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre (*ibid.*).

The Italian Itinerary of Philip II (Philippe-Auguste) in the Year 1191. F. P. Magoun, Jr. (*ibid.*).

Varieties of Circumstantial Evidence in the Study of Mediaeval Enameling. W. L. Hildburgh (*ibid.*).

A Rhymed Latin Poem on the Seven Arts. Samuel A. Ives (*ibid.*).

The *Primum Cognitum* according to Duns Scotus. Basil Heiser, O.F.M.Conv. (*Franciscan Studies*, Sept.).

The Spirit of Franciscan Philosophy. Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

The *Pia Deploratio of St. Bernardine of Siena*. Eric May, O.F.M.Cap. (*ibid.*).

The Centiloquium Attributed to Ockham (Part VI). Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

Medieval Universities. William J. McGucken, S.J. (*Histor. Bulletin*, Nov.).

The Jesuits at the Council of Trent. John B. McGloin, S.J. (*ibid.*).

The Yellow Badge in History. Guido Kisch (*Historia Judaica*, Oct.).

Jewish "Influence" on Christian Biblical Scholars in the Middle Ages. Herman Hailperin (*ibid.*).

The Character of Columbus. William Thomas Walsh (*Columbia*, Oct.).

Galileo. Cristobal de Losada y Puga (*Revista de la Universidad Católica del Perú*, July-Aug.).

The Catholic Church in China. I. The First Missionaries. James Brodrick, S.J. (*Tablet*, Aug. 15).
Christmas and the Epiphany: Origins and Antecedents. Anselm Strittmatter (*Thought*, Dec.).
The American Concept of Man. Moorhouse F. X. Millar (*ibid.*).
La polyphonie classique. Jules Martel, O.M.I. (*Revue de l'Université de l'Ottawa*, Oct.-Dec.).

EUROPEAN

La teología en nuestras Universidades del Siglo de oro. Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, O.P. (*Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, Jan.-June, 1941).
Santoral visigodo en calendarios e inscripciones. José Vives (*ibid.*).
Formación clásica de S. Isidoro. José M.ª Jiménez Delgado (*ibid.*).
Las fórmulas y los símbolos cristianos en los tipos monetales visigodos. Felipe Mateu y Llopis (*ibid.*).
El Kyrial español. Germán Prado, O.S.B. (*ibid.*).
Las antiguas dependencias del palacio real mayor de Barcelona. José M.ª Madurell Marimón (*ibid.*).
Los códices lulianos de la Bibliotheca Nacional de Paris. José Tarré (*ibid.*).
Al margen del lulista P. Antonio Raimundo Pascual, O.Cist. Erhard-Wolfram Platzeck, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).
Los Manuscritos de Esteban de Arteaga. Miguel Batllori, S.I. (*ibid.*).
Mazzei's Correspondence with the Grand Duke of Tuscany during his American Mission. Part II. Howard R. Marraro *William and Mary College Quart.*, Oct.).
Alexis de Tocqueville, Pioneer of Democratic Liberalism in France. J. Salwyn Schapiro (*Political Science Quart.*, Dec.).
Cardinal Mercier and the Belgian Deportees. John S. Kennedy (*Columbia*, Nov.).
German Policy towards the Orthodox Church. George Lubecki (*Tablet*, Sept. 9).
The Sources of Hitler's Power. Waldemar Gurian (*Review of Politics*, Oct.).
Germany's Role in Post-War Reconstruction. Vera Micheles Dean (*Yale Rev.*, Autumn).
Realism in Polish History. William J. Rose (*Journal of Central European Affairs*, Oct.).
The Austrian Provisional Government in Lombardy-Venetia, 1814-1815. R. John Rath (*ibid.*).
The First Balkan Alliance System, 1860-1876. L. S. Stavrianos (*ibid.*).
The Problem of Austrian Nationhood. Aurel Kolnai (*ibid.*).
Romania and the Balkan Crisis of 1875-78. Part II. Richard V. Burks (*ibid.*).
The Balkan Federation Movement. L. S. Stavrianos (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Oct.).

BRITISH EMPIRE

Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman. D. Whitelock (*Transactions* of Royal Histor. Soc., Series 4, Vol. 24).
The *Regimen Scaccarii* in English Monasteries. R. A. L. Smith (*ibid.*).
The Attitude of Whitgift and Bancroft to the Scottish Church. Gordon Donaldson (*ibid.*).
The Adventure of Laeghaire MacCrimhthainn. Kenneth Jackson (*Speculum*, July).
Notes from the Parliament of Winchester, 1449. W. H. Dunham, Jr. (*ibid.*).
Rollo of Normandy. David C. Douglas (*English Histor. Rev., Oct.*).
Knight-Service in Cheshire. James Tait (*ibid.*).
Geoffrey of Monmouth. John Edward Lloyd (*ibid.*).
The Elizabethan Apostasy. Andrew Beck, A.A. (*Clergy Rev.*, Oct.).
Queen Elizabeth Excommunicated. Peter M. Dunne, S.J. (*Histor. Bulletin*, Nov.).

Papal Embassy to Ireland, 1542. Edward Hagemann, S.J. (*ibid.*).
Elizabethan Seamen in Mexico and Ports of the Spanish Main. Frank Aydelotte (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Oct.).
Father Michael Alford, S.J., 1587-1652. P. G. Caraman, S.J. (*Studies*, Sept.).
Roscrea and a Centenary Convent of the Sacred Heart 1842-1942. Stephen J. Brown, S. J. (*ibid.*).
The Fenians after Seventy-five Years. David Marshall (*Catholic World*, Dec.).
Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France. [Part III, Cla to Daly]. Richard Hayes (*Studies*, Sept.).

AMERICAN

United States History in Colleges. Richard J. Purcell (*Catholic Educational Rev.*, Nov.).
The University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940. Richard J. Purcell (*ibid.*, Oct.).
Declaration of Independence and Calvinistic Philosophy. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Social Justice Rev.*, Oct.).
Edwards and the Arminians on the Freedom of the Will. Conrad Wright (*Harvard Theological Rev.*, Oct.).
Where Old Philadelphia Lingers. Joseph Jackson (*Records of the American Catholic Histor. Soc.*, Dec. 1941).
Foundation of Catholic Sisterhoods in United States [cont.]. Sister Maria Alma (*ibid.*, Dec. 1941 and Mar. 1942).
John Baptist de la Salle. Brother Aemelian, F.S.C. (*ibid.*).
An Historical Sketch of Archbishop Du Bourg. Anon. (*The Voice*, Oct.).
Bishop Baraga. Anon. (*ibid.*).
Benjamin Henry Latrobe: The Man and the Architect. Talbot Hamlin (*Maryland Histor. Mag.*, Dec.).
Origins of Boston College, 1842-1869. Gilbert J. Garraghan (*Thought*, Dec.).
Francis Peter Beauprez. Francis S. Betten, S.J. (*Salesianum*, Oct.).
Joel Chandler Harris. John J. Barry (*ibid.*).
Church Extension Grows Up. Most Reverend William D. O'Brien (*Ecclesiastical Rev.*, Nov.).
Growth of Episcopal Sees in America. William Schaefers (*ibid.*).
Andrew Kloman, Founder of the Carnegie Steel Company. Parts I, II, and III. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Social Justice Rev.*, Oct., Nov., and Dec.).
Anton C. Hesing, The Rise of a Chicago Boss. Peter H. Olden (*Journal of the Illinois State Histor. Soc.*, Sept.).
The Catholic Germans of North America [cont.]. Anon. (*Tablet*, Oct. 3 and 10).
The Beloved Mendicant, Moments from the Life of Father Francis Koch, O.F.M. (1843-1920) [cont.]. Benjamin F. Musser (*Provincial Annals*, Province of the Holy Name, Oct.).
A Gentleman Adventurer [Father Andrew White, S.J.]. John G. Owens, S.J. (*Western Jesuit*, Oct.).
The Catholic Church in the United States between the Wars. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. (*Rev. of Politics*, Oct.).
God's Protecting Providence: A Journal by Jonathan Dickinson. Charles M. Andrew's (*Florida Histor. Quart.*, Oct.).
Names of the St. Johns River. Herbert M. Corse (*ibid.*).
Origins of the Episcopal Church Press from Colonial Days to 1840. Clifford P. Morehouse (*Histor. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Sept.).
Immigration and the Growth of the Episcopal Church. Walter H. Stowe, (*ibid.*, Dec.).
The Influence of the American Environment on the Conception of the Church in American Protestantism. Robert Hastings Nichols (*Church Hist.*, Sept.).
The Grounds of Religious Toleration in the Thought of John Donne (*ibid.*).
The Division in Missouri Methodism in 1845. Hauser Winter (*Missouri Histor. Rev.*, Oct.).

The Excavations of Fort Ste. Marie. Kenneth E. Kidd (*Martyrs' Shrine Message,* Oct.).

Le problème de l'éducation et le journalisme Canadien-Français de 1800 [cont.]. Part III. Séraphin Marion (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa,* Oct.-Dec.).

La Nouvelle-France et les premiers monuments de sa foi en l'Immaculée Conception. Jean-Léon Allie, O.M.I. (*ibid.*).

Les canotiers entre Québec et Lévis [cont.]. Pierre Georges Roy (*Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* Oct.).

Graduate Theses in Canadian History, and Related Subjects. (*Canadian Histor. Rev.,* Sept.).

The American Revolution in New Books and New Light. Winfred Trexler Root (*ibid.*).

Les souvenirs français en Californie. Jacqueline-Lignot Roux (*Le Canada Français,* Sept.).

Origins of the Foreign-Born Population of New Mexico during the Territorial Period. Richard R. Greer (*New Mexico Histor. Rev.,* Oct.).

Account of Adventures in the Great American Desert by Duke Paul Wilhelm von Wurttemberg [concluded]. Louis C. Butscher (*ibid.*).

Philadelphia Commerce with Latin America, 1820-1830. Sanford W. Higginbotham (*Pennsylvania Hist.,* Oct.).

The Plight of Puerto Rico. Judd Polk (*Political Science Quart.,* Dec.).

En el cuarto centenario de San Juan de la Cruz. Alfonso Mendez Plancarte (*Abside,* Oct.-Dec.).

Dos notas de bibliografía mexicana. Ernest R. Moore (*ibid.*).

In Mexico [Mexican attitude toward World War II]. Hubert Herring (*Yale Review,* Autumn).

Latin America and the War. Américo Ghioldi (*Free World,* Oct.).

Beato Bartolomé Laurel, O.F.M. Jesús García Gutiérrez (*Christus,* Oct.).

Recuerdos de mi vida [cont.]. Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores (*ibid.,* Oct., Nov., Dec.).

Beatos Pedro de Zúñiga, O.S.A. y Luis Flores, O.P. Jesús García Gutiérrez (*Christus,* Nov.).

La cultura en las Colonias Españolas de América. David Rubio (*Universidad Católica Bolivariana,* Apr.-July).

Thomé de Sousa, First Governor General of Brazil, 1549-1553. Ruth Lapham Butler (*Mid-America,* Oct.).

Fernão Cardim, Jesuit Humanist of Colonial Brazil. J. Manuel Espinosa (*ibid.*).

The Padre of the Magic Shoes [Francis Glandorff]. Peter M. Dunne, S.J. (*ibid.*).

La Génesis Colombina del Descubrimiento. Emiliano Jos (*Revista de Historia de America,* June).

Early Silver Mining in New Spain. Henry R. Wagner (*ibid.*).

Ordenanças hechas por el Sr. Visorrey don Antonio de Mendoça sobre las Minas de la Nueva España Año de M.D.L. Arthur S. Aiton (*ibid.*).

History of the Missionary District of Southern Brazil. Wm. M. M. Thomas (*Hist. Mag. of the Prot. Episcopal Church,* Dec.).

Beginnings of the Church in Puerto Rico. Charles B. Colmore (*ibid.*).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Babcock, Chester D., Ebe Jeffrey, and Archie W. Troelstrup, *Paying for the War*. National Council for the Social Studies, Bulletin 18. (Washington: National Education Association. 1942. Pp. 69. 30c.)

Bailey, Thomas A., *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. 2nd ed. (New York: F. S. Crofts Co. 1942. Pp. xxvi, 864. $4.25.) This second edition of the able text of Professor Bailey of Stanford University adds two new chapters on the entrance of the United States into the present war. Likewise revisions have been made throughout on points where more recent scholarship has shed new or different light. The Index has also been completely revised.

Baron, Salo W., *The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure to the American Revolution*. 3 Vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society. 1942. Pp. xii, 374, 366; ix, 572. $2.50 per volume; $7.50 per set)

Belloc, Hilaire, *Elizabeth, Creature of Circumstance*. (New York: Harper and Bros. 1942. Pp. xi, 258. $2.75.)

Bemis, Samuel Flagg, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, rev. ed. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. Pp. viii, 934. $4.00.) This revised edition of a well-known textbook brings the subject matter up to January 1, 1942, and incorporates a number of suggestions and corrections made to the author since the appearance of the first edition in 1936. Acknowledgement is made likewise of the more recent monographic literature in the footnote references.

Bogart, Ernest L., and Donald L. Kemmerer, *Economic History of the American People*, rev. ed. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1942. Pp. x, 909. $3.75.) Professor Bogart's well-known text appears here in revised form. While allowing for the importance of economic developments, many will not concur entirely with the opening sentence of the Preface to this new edition, viz., that "all history is now being rewritten from this standpoint." The volume has bibliographical notes at the end of chapters, numerous maps and charts, and an Index.

Brodie, Bernard, *A Layman's Guide to Naval Strategy*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 291. $2.50.) Professor Brodie of Dartmouth College, author of *Sea Power in the Machine Age*, here initiates the general public into some of the intricacies of sea warfare. The book carries a Reading List and an Index.

Brodie, Fawn M., *Peace Aims and Post-War Planning. A Bibliography Selected and Annotated*. (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1942. Pp. 53. 25c.)

Carroll, H. Bailey, and J. Villasana Haggard (Trans.), *Three New Mexico Chronicles*. Vol. XI of the Quivira Society Publications. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1942. Pp. xxx, 342. $10.00.)

Carter, Clarence Edwin (Comp. and Ed), *The Territorial Papers of the United United States*. Vol. X. *The Territory of Michigan, 1805-1820*. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. xi, 948. $2.00.)

Farrell, Walter, O.P., *A Companion to the 'Summa'*. Part IV. *The Way of Life*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. viii, 464. $3.75.) Father Farrell's series written under the title given above, has now reached its conclusion with the volume on *The Way of Life* which corresponds to the *Summa*, III A and supplement. The work has received a very warm welcome among both learned and popular readers.

The present volume treats of twenty main topics in as many chapters. They are subjects which will afford enlightenment and inspiration to any mind which remains rooted in the belief that the supernatural is the prime fact in man's existence.

Feilchenfeld, Ernst H., *The International Economic Law of Belligerent Occupation.* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1942. Pp. xii, 181. $1.50.) This monograph is directed to an inquiry of pertinent questions raised in international law regarding property, public finance, and regulation of the economic life in general of occupied countries in time of war. There are a brief Bibliography and an Index.

Finley, John H., Jr., *Thucydides.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. 344. $3.50.)

Furfey, Paul Hanly, *A History of Social Thought.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. xiii, 468. $2.75.)

Goodrich, Leland M., with the collaboration of S. Shepard Jones, and Denys P. Myers, *Documents on American Foreign Relations.* Vol. IV. *July 1941–June 1942.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1942. Pp. xlviii, 899. $3.75.) This useful series of contemporary documents on American foreign policy has now reached its fourth volume with material covering from the summer of 1941 to the beginning of the summer of 1942. These volumes will be of great service to teachers and students in classes in history and political science.

Greene, Lorenzo Johnston, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 404. $4.50.)

Grigassy, Julius (Comp.), *The Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays, Holydays, Various Intentions and Special Occasions in the Catholic Church of the Greek Rite.* (Braddock, Pa.: By the Author. 1942. Pp. xiv, 448. $1.50.)

Guide to Church Vital Statistics in Tennessee. Prepared by War Services Section, Service Division, Works Projects Administration. (Nashville: War Services Section. 1942. Pp. vii, 510.) The present volume contains data on the churches of the state of Tennessee assembled by counties. There are a Bibliography and a place-name Index.

Hanč, Josef, *Eastern Europe and the United States.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1942. Pp. vi, 95. Paper, 25c; cloth, 50c.) The World Peace Foundation continues to issue its useful pamphlet series, America Looks Ahead. This item is No. 7 of the series and was written by a man who holds the position of lecturer in international law in the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. It contains six brief chapters, an Appendix of three important documents, and two pages of Bibliographical Notes.

Hansen, Alvin H., *Economic Problems of the Post-War World. Problems in American Life,* Unit No. 10. (Washington: National Education Association. 1942. Pp. 64. 30c.)

Hart, Elizabeth, *Mary of the Magnificat.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. 58. $1.00.) In nine brief chapters Mother Hart of the Cenacle here discusses Mary's qualities.

Holsapple, Lloyd B., *Constantine the Great.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. xix, 469. $3.00.)

Hornbeck, Stanley K., *The United States and the Far East: Certain Fundamentals of Policy.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1942. Pp. vi, 100. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 50c.) Dr. Hornbeck of the Department of State here writes a brief survey of American policy in the Far East in recent years. An Appendix contains six documents relating to Japan from Ambassador's Grew's communication of October 6, 1938 to Prince Konoe to President Roosevelt's message to Congress of December 15, 1941, reviewing our negotiations with that government.

Howay, F. W., W. N. Sage, and H. F. Angus, *British Columbia and the United States. The North Pacific Slope from Fur Trade to Aviation.* (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xv, 408. $3.50.)

Jackson, Luther Porter, *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860.* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1942. Pp. xix, 270. $3.75.)

Jewish Post-War Problems. Unit I, *Why Study Post-War Problems?* Unit II, *The Two World Wars—A Comparison and Contrast.* (New York: American Jewish Committee. 1942. Pp. 32; 40. Unit 10c; course, 50c.)

Jones, C. K., *A Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies.* 2nd ed. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. 311.)

Josephson, Matthew, *Victor Hugo, A Realistic Biography of the Great Romantic.* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1942. Pp. xiii, 514. $3.50.)

Lebreton, Jules, S.J., and Jacques Zeiller, *The History of the Primitive Church.* Vol. I. *The Church in the New Testament.* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1942. Pp. 269. 16s.)

Leslie, Shane, (Ed.), *Letters of Herbert Cardinal Vaughan to Lady Herbert of Lea, 1867 to 1903.* (London: Burns Oates. 1942. Pp. xxiii, 453. 18c.)

Lind, Levi Robert, *The Vita Sancti Malchi of Reginald of Canterbury.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1942. Pp. 245. Paper, $3.00; cloth, $3.50.)

Lockmiller, David A., *The Consolidation of the University of North Carolina.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 160. $3.00; paper, $2.00.) Professor Lockmiller of the University of Chattanooga, author of the *History of the North Carolina State College,* here discusses the interesting educational development that has taken place of late years among North Carolina's state institutions of higher learning. Fred J. Kelly of the Federal Office of Education writes the Foreword. The book contains eight Appendices, a Selected Bibliography, and an Index.

Long, Morden H., *A History of the Canadian People.* Vol. I. *New France.* (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 376. $3.50.)

Mackinder, Halford J., *Democratic Ideals and Reality.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1942. Pp. xxvi, 219. $1.90.) This book is a re-issue of the volume written by the author in 1919. A Foreword is contributed by Major George Fielding Eliot and the Introduction by Professor Edward Mead Earle of Princeton University. The volume has an Index.

McInnis, Edgar, *The War. Third Year.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. xvii, 347. $2.00.) Professor McInnis of the University of Toronto here continues his factual chronicle of World War II. Walter Millis provides the Foreword. There are a twenty-page documentary Appendix, a Chronology, and an Index. This volume, number three in the series, extends in content from October, 1941 to September, 1942.

McNabb, Vincent, O.P., *Old Principles and the New Order.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. xvi, 246. $2.75.) The distinguished English Dominican here sets down in brief essays the Christian ideal and hope in a back-to-the-land-movement. The critical socio-economic questions of our day are examined against a background of the gospels and the papal encyclicals.

Magner, James A., *Men of Mexico.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1942. Pp. x, 614. $4.00.)

Marx, Walter John, *The Twilight of Capitalism and the War.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1942. Pp. vii, 316. $2.75.)

Marguerite, Sister M., S.N.D., *Workbooks for Faith and Freedom Series.* Pre-primer, primer, first, second, and third readers. (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1942. Pp. 32; 80; 80; 96; 96. 20c; 32c; 32c; 32c; 36c.) As aids to the *Faith and Freedom Readers* by Sister Marguerite, the author has now compiled a set of interesting work books for them. They are designed effectively for small projects to drive home not only the lessons of grammar, spelling, etc., but also the central themes of the home, family, friends, neighbors, and one's home town.

Maryknoll Missions Letters. (New York: Field Afar Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 55. 50c.) This slender volume of letters of Maryknoll missionaries, mostly from the Far East, suggests the worth of larger publications of this sort from missionary societies. The letters reflect not only religious problems but contain as well interesting eye-witness accounts of the war areas. Why would Maryknoll not inaugurate an extended series which in time might become the *Jesuit Relations* of our day?

Mayo, Bernard, *Jefferson Himself.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1942. Pp. xv, 384. $4.00.)

Métraux, Alfred, *The Native Tribes of Eastern Bolivia and Western Matto Grosso.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 134. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. ix, 182. 35c.)

The Mission Apostolate. (New York: Paulist Press. 1942. Pp. xv, 228. Cloth, $1.50; paper, 75c.) This volume's publication was sponsored by the national office of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The Preface was written by Archbishop Spellman. There are thirty brief essays on as many phases of Catholic missionary activity by almost as many authors. All important missionary societies in the United States are represented. The book likewise carries discussion-club outlines prepared by the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade and an Index. It is a convenient compilation of data on the missions and should be of real service both for stimulating interest in the Church's manifold missionary activities as well as affording a ready compendium of information.

Molendyk, Clara A., and Benjamin C. Edwards, *Thus Be It Ever. A Heritage of Freedom.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1942. Pp. xv, 508. $1.60.) This is an anthology of selections of prose and poetry illustrating the general theme of freedom and democracy. It is equipped with study aids for the use of students.

Morison, Samuel Eliot and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic.* 2 Vols. 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. xvi, 825; xiv, 785. $3.50 per vol.) The third edition of this attractive text in American history has been greatly expanded to include the three hundred years of colonial history to 1763, omitted in previous editions. Volume II brings the story from 1937, date of the last revision, down to Pearl Harbor. The work has been chosen by the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs for translation and promotion in Latin America. The volumes are well equipped with charts, statistical tables, and maps which add to the teachableness of the text. The appointment of the first Catholic bishop is treated (I, 244) and the myth of French interference almost rises again. The entire country was under the bishops of Baltimore up to 1808, not 1804 (I, 244). The career of Joel R. Poinsett, first American minister to Mexico, is properly evaluated (I, 466). There is, incidentally, a rather marked difference between the two volumes in as far as notices of Catholic history are concerned. Volume II largely ignores the Church's development after 1865, not even a mention of it appearing in the Index. For that matter the great immigration question merely mentions Bishop Hughes, but the names of Ireland, Spalding, and Gibbons likewise do not even appear in the

Index. It is, to say the least, a little odd that a volume purporting to give a complete general history of the United States since the Civil War should take so little cognizance of these issues and men. The work, aside from these omissions, is very well done. But one ponders the fact that Latin America—so basically Catholic in its cultural background—is to have promoted in its midst a book like the second volume of this work. Latin Americans reading Volume II of this history might well believe the Church was but a cipher in our land, though its membership numbers roughly one sixth of the total population.

Neumann, Sigmund, *Permanent Revolution*. (New York: Harper and Bros. 1942. Pp. xviii, 388. $3.00.)

Nichols, Jeannette P., and Roy F., *The Republic of the United States*. Vol. II. *1865-1942*. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1942. Pp. xvii, 715. $3.50.) This is the second volume of the text. It covers the years from the Civil War up to the entrance of the United States into World War II and the role of the American nation in that struggle down to July, 1942. There are numerous illustrations, maps, charts, a reading list, and appendices which contain the Constitution, the presidential vote for the elections 1868-1940, the cabinets of the Presidents since 1865, and the political complexion of Congress from 1865 to 1941. It would be interesting to learn the names of the priests and laymen "friendly to labor" who "sometimes were excommunicated" (p. 183). The American Church got two not three—new cardinals in 1911 (p. 268). The volume on the whole devotes more attention to religious history than most of the texts hitherto published.

Nichols, Madaline W., *Sarmiento: A Chronicle of Inter-American Friendship*. (Washington: By the Author. Pp. 81.)

North Carolina Historical Commission. (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission. 1942. Pp. v, 115.) This pamphlet describes the work of the Commission through forty years of activity since 1903.

Oakeshott, Michael, *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe*. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. xxiii, 241. $2.75.) The English edition of this work was reviewed in the January, 1940 issue of this journal. The present volume is an American edition with Prefaces by Professor Frederic A. Ogg of the University of Wisconsin and sells for the reduced price of $2.75.

O'Connor, Sister Mary Catharine, *The Art of Dying Well, The Development of the Ars Moriendi*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 258. $2.50.)

O'Hara, Joseph M., *Chester's Century of Catholicism, 1842-1942*. (Philadelphia: Peter Reilly Co. 1942. Pp. xxii, 221. $2.50.)

Prindeville, Carlton A., C.M., *Chapters in Religion*. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1942. Pp. vii, 354. $2.00.) Father Prindeville of St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, Missouri here gives a clear and precise summary in brief chapters of the leading beliefs of the Catholic faith.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. LI, Part 2. (Worcester: Published by the Society. 1942. Pp. 223-395, xxvii.) The latest volume of the *Proceedings* contains the various reports made at the annual meeting in Worcester on October 15, 1941 and two articles: "Horatio Gates Spafford and His Historical Activities" by Julian P. Boyd and "The First Press in Providence" by Lawrence C. Wroth.

Reich, Sister Aloyse Marie, *The Parliamentary Abbots to 1470. A Study in English Constitutional History*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1941. Pp. vi, 265-401. $1.50.)

Rich, E. E., (Ed.), *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee.* First series, 1825-38. (London: Published by Champlain Society for Hudson's Bay Record Society. 1941. Pp. cxxviii, 374, xi.)

Romig, Walter, (Ed.), *The Book of Catholic Authors.* (Detroit: Walter Romig and Co. 1942. Pp. viii, 302. $2.20.) The present volume represents an effort to draw together brief sketches of Catholic writers from various fields—some autobiographical—of about sixty persons most of whom are living. It is the first in a projected series. One notes the few professional historians represented. Most are familiar names to Catholic readers.

Shaw, Edward Pease, *Jacques Cazotte (1719-1792).* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 136. $1.50.)

Sheed, Frank J. (Comp.), *Poetry and Life. A New Anthology of English Catholic Poetry.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. xvii, 187. $2.50.)

Sheedy, Anna T., *Bartolus on Social Conditions in the Fourteenth Century.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 267. $3.25.)

Smith, Ellen Hart, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 340. $3.75.)

Smith, T. V., and Glenn Negley, *Democracy vs. Dictatorship.* Problems in American Life Series, Unit No. 6. (Washington: National Education Association. 1942. Pp. 69. 30c.)

Speck, Frank G., *The Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony.* Transcriptions and Analysis of Tutelo Music by George Herzog. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1942. Pp. xix, 125.) The Tutelo Indians of Pennsylvania have been described here in their ceremony of recloth-ing the living in the name of the dead. The transcriptions and analysis of the Tutelo music have been done by George Herzog.

Stirling, Matthew W., *Origin Myth of Acoma and Other Records.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 135. (Washing-ton: Government Priting Office. 1942. Pp. vii, 123, 17 plates. 35c.)

Thompson, James Westfall and Bernard J. Holm, *A History of Historical Writing.* 2 Vols. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. xvi, 676; ix, 674. $14.00.)

Tschan, Francis J., Harold J. Grimm, and J. Duane Squires, *Western Civiliza-tion since 1660.* (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1942. Pp. 787-1447, lxxxii. $3.25.) This volume covers the second half of the general survey of western civilization written under the joint authorship of the above named. The present volume opens with the Age of Louis XIV and carries the student through the entrance of the United States into the present war. There are twenty-nine maps, numerous illustra-tions, reading lists, and a full Index.

Valencia Rodas, Guillermo, *El Proceso de la Cultura Americana, Sociologia Especial de América.* (Medellin, Columbia: Universidad Católica Bolivariana. 1942. Pp. 220.)

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Wade, Mason, *Francis Parkman, Heroic Historian.* (New York: Viking Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 466. $4.50.)

Wagner, Henry R., (Trans.), *The Discovery of New Spain in 1518 by Juan de Grijalva.* (Berkeley: Cortes Society, Bancroft Library. 1942. Pp. 208.)

Ward, Leo R., C.S.C., *Nova Scotia, the Land of Co-operation.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. xiii, 207. $2.50.) Father Ward, associate professor of philosophy in the University of Notre Dame, here relates in a personal and intimate way the story of the remarkable co-operative movement that has been going on now for some years in the Maritime Provinces of Canada. It is a movement which has attracted widespread admiration and Father Ward tells the tale in a way that will win a wide circle of readers. The maps have been made by Leroy Appleton.

Weinryb, Bernard Dov, *Jewish Emancipation Under Attack.* (New York: American Jewish Committee. 1942. Pp. 95. 25c.) This is pamphlet No. 2 of a series edited by Abraham G. Duker. It is a survey with pertinent documents of the anti-semitic movement from 1919 to the present.

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